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NOTES AND NEWS.

A MEETING of the Court of the University of Manchester was held on the 15th of May, when Sir John Stopford presented a picture in retrospect, and in prospect, of the University over which he had presided as Vice-Chancellor for eleven years. THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

To-day, said Sir John, they faced an immediate increase to 4,000 students and, having spoken of the congestion such numbers caused in all departments, and of the inadequacy of the present accommodation in halls of residence and elsewhere, Sir John asked the Court to consider seriously the question : " What size is the University to be in the future ? "

An ultimate enrolment of 5,000 students was foreshadowed by Sir John, who went on to say that it would be a misfortune of the first magnitude if any considerable increase decided upon should be limited to one or two faculties. The present demand was for graduates in science and technology, but let them not, therefore, neglect the Faculty of Arts. " So much attention has been directed, quite rightly and naturally, to science, medicine, and technology that there is a real danger that we may starve and even forget those who are concerned with the amenities. Without a Faculty of Arts we should quickly cease to be a real University, and unless we maintain a strong and vigorous Faculty of Arts and proceed as quickly as possible to the complete provision of Residence we may sacrifice the finest and in many ways some of the most important things a University stands for."

Referring to some of the more important recent developments, the Vice-Chancellor mentioned that authority had been given for the establishment of a laboratory for the fundamental study of the phenomena of fluid motion—a development likely to have

far-reaching results. It was matter for pride that Professor Goldstein, in response to whose proposals the development had been sanctioned, had accepted the responsible position of chairman of the Aeronautical Research Council. In speaking of developments in the schools of medicine and dentistry Sir John mentioned " the desperate shortage " of dentists in the country, and again appealed for recruits.

To continue a piecemeal extension of the University would be uneconomic, inefficient, and foolish. " I believe we should try now to discover what is the optimum number of students for this particular civic University, giving the fullest regard to standards and all the educational requirements as well as the national and regional needs."

Sir John gave detailed news of the changes in staff, accommodation, and equipment that are necessary or proceeding, and added that there was need to embark on a comprehensive building programme at the earliest possible moment. In this programme, and whatever the ultimate size of University decided upon, he gave first priority in building to the provision of more halls of residence. " The bigger a University becomes ", he said, " the greater the need for all those advantages and opportunities which well-appointed and well-staffed halls of residence can provide."

LORD WOOLTON presided as Chancellor for the first time over this session of the Court, and in welcoming him Sir John Stopford remarked that later he would be presenting honorary degrees to the President of the Royal Society and the Minister of Education, both students and graduates, as Lord Woolton was, of the University.

The Court re-elected five of the retiring members, and added Dr. E. J. F. James, the new High Master of Manchester Grammar School, and Mr. L. P. Scott, assistant managing director of the *Manchester Guardian*. Mr. Stanley Best and Mr. Alfred Haworth were re-elected to the Council.

It was decided to confer honorary degrees as Masters of Art on Mr. W. W. Cocker (Accrington); Canon Rowe, diocesan chaplain for education; Mr. Gordon Phillips, of whom the Bishop of Manchester said he " masquerades under the title of ' Lucio ' in a paper which tries to guard our morals and our

thinking and does it with considerable success"; Mr. J. D. Hughes, "partner in the firm of Sherratt and Hughes, who has not only sold books but has helped us to choose books and has encouraged us to read them"; and on Mr. Ernest Roberts, Deputy Director of Education for Manchester, "who has created an atmosphere of friendliness in circles where it is qaite easy to be controversial and even, without much effort, to be occasionally bitter".

It was also agreed to confer the honorary degree of M.Sc. on Mr. W. A. Kay, whom Professor Manson put in "that omnipotent class of men before whom a mere professor pales into significance"—a head laboratory steward, and "the only man who was present at the actual experiments carried out in Rutherford's laboratory, which can be considered as the birth of perhaps the most tremendous steps forward in science ever taken, and which have culminated, in our present possession and the development of atomic energy."

Under special provision the degree of M.A. will also be conferred on Mr. Arthur Jones, a member of the University, for his independent and important researches in agricultural economics. He is leaving Manchester to take up for the Province of Wales the post of head of the newly formed National Agricultural Advisory Service.

THE DEGREE CEREMONY.

The Degree Day ceremony, on Saturday, the 6th of April, which was presided over by the Chancellor (Lord Woolton), marked the conferment of honorary distinctions on five men "whose public service has been so remarkable and outstanding that we seek for ourselves the honour of their fellowship", were the words of welcome employed by the Chancellor.

The Presenter (Professor Manson) made more detailed reference to the qualities of the recipients as he presented them.

The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon Mr. W. W. Cocker, Mr. J. D. Hughes, Mr. Ernest Roberts, and Canon William Rowe; while Mr. W. A. Kay received the honorary degree of Master of Science. Mr. Gordon Phillips, of the *Manchester Guardian*, upon whom it had been decided to confer

the honorary degree of M.A. in recognition of "our debt to Lucio", was prevented by illness from attending.

The qualities and achievements of the new graduates were neatly expressed by the Presenter:

Mr. Cocker, architect and builder of his own fortunes, and that in such a way that those who have shared in the work have also shared in the profit, took a full share in the national effort during the war, "not least in the preparation of dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane, which in the retrolocution beloved of quartermasters, might be translated, "powder, chemical, troops for the de-infestation of".

"The true bookseller", Mr. Hughes, was acclaimed as "one who loves good books so well that his stock becomes his collection and every sale a bereavement."

Mr. Roberts, "an officer of high rank and large responsibility in the educational service of this city", was extolled not only for his contribution to education, but for his pioneering work on the Manchester Pensions Committee in the war of 1914-18.

Canon Rowe, a clergyman who, in the fullest sense belongs to the Diocese of Manchester, was also commended for his wholehearted zeal for the highest ideals in education and a single-minded devotion to their practical realisation.

In honouring Mr. Kay, the University was recognising one of its own glories—a man whose name and fame are known far beyond Manchester and will always be associated with the epoch-making discoveries made here during Rutherford's professorship and Mr. Kay's stewardship. . . . The University is proud to have on its roll of graduates one who has done so much for the advancement of science within its walls.

Congratulating the student graduates, of whom about 160 received degrees, Lord Woolton reminded them of the task which lay ahead—the building of a public and a personal life on the foundation of freedom. "Democratic government", said the Chancellor, calls for the best efforts of each one of us according to our capacity and opportunity. Democracy cannot survive if we leave government and public affairs to the other fellow. The whole world is crying out for leadership and the answer to that falls directly,

as an obligation, on those who have had the privilege of education."

" I trust ", continued Lord Woolton, " that the graduates of this University will recognise this obligation, and will seek out opportunity in the fields of social betterment in young people's clubs, in religious and educational work, in the councils of local authorities, and in the higher court of Parliament, to bring their knowledge and the rich stimulus of their enthusiasm to the service of the nation."

LORD WOOLTON and MISS ELLEN WILKINSON met again in the afternoon at the University, where years ago they attended as students and passed out as graduates.

As Chancellor, it was Lord Woolton's duty to confer on Miss Wilkinson, now Minister for Education, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Miss Wilkinson was bracketed for that honour with the President of the Royal Society, Professor Robert Robinson, who was also a graduate and teacher at the University, and who now occupies the Waynflete Chair in Oxford.

Other recipients of honorary degrees were Principal Wilbert Francis Howard, of Handsworth College, Birmingham, president in 1944 of the Methodist Conference, as Doctor of Divinity; Professor J. W. Hay Atkins, one time Lecturer in English at Manchester, and for thirty-four years Professor of English at Aberystwyth, as Doctor of Letters ; and Air Commodore Frank Whittle,, of whom Professor T. W. Manson, the Presenter, spoke as the occupant of a back room " out of which in due course came the gas turbine for jet propulsion ", as Doctor of Science.

The Degree ceremony was enacted with all the customary colour and dignity before a large and distinguished attendance in the Whitworth Hall, where Lord Woolton took the unusual course of giving the congregation an address, devoted largely to industrial and educational trends in the United States, as he recently observed them. After pointing out that the United States had taken from Great Britain the place of a great creditor nation, he said he found a very clear recognition in America of

the value of the commercial possibilities that the new position gave them and a determination to use their abounding enterprise to make a full and proper use of that position.

" I believe that the initiative that we have temporarily been compelled to surrender has not permanently passed from this country to the United States ", he added. " Whether we can regain it or not will, in my judgment, depend more on the vigour and enlightenment of our individual merchants and manufacturers than on the action of Government, although I recognise to the full the help and encouragement that Governments can give to the education of our people and to the part that Universities can play in our industrial reconstruction.

" If we are to regain our position in the world our industrialists will have to waken up to the part that Universities can play in the industrial life of the country. There is altogether too much temptation at the present time for our ' clever boys ' to be attracted to the Civil Service and to the safe jobs of the world. The advantages of security are displacing the stimulus to adventure, and that is not a good thing for the nation. I suggest to the industrialists of Lancashire that they should make inquiry as to what this University can do to help them to play their part in regaining for the country the commercial leadership of the world. And I ask them to consider at the same time what they can do to make this University fully equipped to render that service to them. America is a long way in advance of us in this matter."

Miss Wilkinson responded on behalf of all the recipients of honorary degrees. She said that by the Act of 1944, the great gift to the country of the Coalition Government—" perhaps the greatest war gift any of the Governments made to its people in that time "—it was laid down that provision should be made for secondary education for all. " It has fallen to my lot to try to implement that great good departmentally, and as far as it lies in my power ", the Minister said. " I intend that that secondary education shall be secondary and not elementary with frills on.

" Then arises the question of what is to be done with the

quickening of intelligent interest that even only four years of carefully planned secondary education can do. It is perfectly clear that there must be a big expansion of the Universities." The talent was there: it was not even now finding its way to the Universities, and its full value was not being trained.

" Early next week, I hope on Monday ", Miss Wilkinson said at this point, " I hope to make a statement, which I cannot anticipate here, foreshadowing a considerable increase in scholarship provision. In addition to that, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget, like Sir John Anderson in 1942, has so increased the provision that the £2,500,000 which was granted by the State in 1936 are now increased to nine plus millions. Under this new grant the State will pay two-thirds instead of one-third of the total funds expended on University education, and as the Chancellor has foreshadowed further grants, I think we can now say that the paralysing penury will be removed from the Universities and also the excuse of penury."

The Minister expressed the hope that the grant of this money would not intensify the competitive scramble for the older Universities. During the war years two-thirds of those who had State scholarships went to Oxford or Cambridge, and one-third of that cream was spread among the rest. In the last completed academic year nine out of ten State scholarships went in the same direction. That was not healthy, and while she did not wish, as Minister, to force State scholars to go, in the contemptuous term, to the red-brick Universities, what she did hope would happen was that, with the new money available and with the new numbers bounding up, the modern Universities would be so good, so alive to the needs of the modern world, producing such men as they had honoured that day, and such men and women as she saw before her, that the student who had received a State scholarship would look rather pityingly on those old-fashioned colleagues who were going along to the ancient foundations, and would say firmly that he or she was " going modern ". That could only happen if they increased and intensified the standards of the work done in the modern Universities.

At the Staff House of Manchester University, on Tuesday, the 20th of August, a presentation was made by Sir John Stopford, the Vice-Chancellor, to Dr. Norman Smith, who retired last year from the registrarship of the University, a post which he had held for twenty-five of the fifty years he had spent in the service of the University.

PRESENTATION TO DR. NORMAN AND MRS. SMITH.

Dr. Smith and Mrs. Smith received a personal gift of books. Sir John Stopford received, on behalf of the University from Professor W. J. Pugh, chairman of the informal committee which had arranged this tribute from some three hundred of Dr. Smith's colleagues, former colleagues, and friends, an endowment for an annual prize in the Honours School of General Science, the Norman Smith Prize. Professor Pugh also presented to the University on behalf of the subscribers a portrait of Dr. Smith painted by Miss Gertrude M. Coventry.

Dr. Smith, who was described by Sir John Stopford, as " beloved friend and great registrar—a man without an enemy " —first came to Owens College in January, 1895. In three years he graduated B.Sc. with first-class honours, and in 1901 he gained his M.Sc. In that year he was appointed assistant lecturer in chemistry, and continued in that post until 1912, when he became senior lecturer. In 1920 he was appointed registrar, retaining his post as lecturer.

The Council of the University of Manchester have appointed the Rev. F. R. Smith, D.D. (London), Lecturer in Comparative Religion in King's College, London, as Professor of Comparative Religion and Philosophy of Religion. He took up his duties in succession to Professor L. E. Browne in September.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

Dr. Smith received the degree of D.D. in 1927 for a work on Comparative Religion entitled " The Fatherhood of God ". In 1920 he was appointed Lecturer in Comparative Religion in King's College, London, and in 1927 became a member of the professorial board and a Fellow of the college. In the present year he was appointed chairman of the Board of Studies in Theology in the University of London.

By the death of Lord Keynes, which occurred on the 21st of April, the nation has sustained a tragic loss, for he came to our assistance at the time when such a financial leader was sorely needed, and in doing so he gave his life for his country when it could ill spare him.

LORD KEYNES.

John Maynard Keynes was created first Baron Keynes of Tilton, in Sussex, in 1942. His death from a heart attack occurred suddenly at his home, "Ripe" at Firle, Sussex, at sixty-two years of age. Lady Keynes was with her husband when he died.

Born on the 5th of June, 1883, Lord Keynes was the son of John Neville Keynes, and Florence Ada Brown. His father, after a distinguished career as an economist, became Registrar of the University of Cambridge. His mother, who served a term as Mayor of Cambridge, was a daughter of Dr. John Brown, the famous Baptist preacher, and biographer of John Bunyan.

Keynes was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. He read mathematics and was twelfth wrangler in 1905. In 1906 he passed into the Civil Service, and was alloted to the India Office. One of the results of his experience there was his first book, "Indian Currency and Finance" (1913). He was elected Fellow of King's College in 1909, and in the same year became Lecturer in Economics. A year later he became High Steward of Cambridge, and in 1946 Cambridge conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Science.

On the outbreak of war in 1914 he joined the Treasury, becoming recognised as probably the most outstanding of the Civil war servants of that generation.

To quote from one who knew him best, it was a miracle that he was able to undertake the prodigies of work that he shouldered during the war as chief financial adviser to the Government. That it was possible was due to the power of a spirit that transcended the weakness of flesh and blood, and the devotion of a wonderful wife.

No one ever doubted Keynes's superb gift of exposition or tireless industry on such occasions. It was his unwearying patience that provided the constant element of the miraculous.

Keynes's formidable intellectual force commanded something like awe, but his subtle grace and charm, and the shining ability of his character won love. His tongue was feared, as was his pen, but there was a sympathetic human personality beneath that scintillating exterior. Great men, whose qualities include brilliance of intellect, are usually terrifying people, but those who knew Keynes well discovered there was a warm heart and sympathetic human personality beneath what at times appeared to be a forbidding exterior.

He was a patriotic fighter for the future well-being of his own country, but he was also inspired by a world vision of what was needed for the good of all peoples. He devoted himself to his nation's cause, and died at the summit of his powers.

Twenty-seven years have elapsed since the publication of " The Economic Consequences of the Peace ", but the memory of that great book still haunts the world.

Keynes was always a man of deep conviction. There was no calculable tactic in his mind when he resigned from the British Peace Delegation in 1919, and wrote the book that made him world famous. He resigned because he could not any longer work for a conference whose policy, in his judgment, was wrong, and must lead to disaster.

He would never have become the exponent of any settled orthodoxy for his powerful imagination was always moving forward, and would have always put him ahead of his age.

His loss will be felt in many spheres. He was the greatest of contemporary economists. He who had ever been the arch-heretic of finance and economics, had become the bright star of the Treasury and the Bank of England.

Lord Keynes was a great lover and patron of the arts. He married Lydia Lopokova when she was prima ballerina in Diaghileff's Ballet, and the marriage was a very happy one. He did much to encourage the ballet in England. He built and endowed the Arts Theatre in Cambridge, later handing it over to be managed by a board of trustees on commercial lines, to the great benefit of the amenities of the town. He was a trustee of the National Gallery.

One of his latest acts was to accept nomination as a trustee

of this (Rylands) Library, but his death came suddenly before he had had the opportunity of signing the Trust Deed. His sudden death has inflicted a serious blow, not only upon the library, but also upon those who would have been his colleagues on the Trust.

In the current issue of "The Times Literary Supplement" (10th August), we are reminded that twenty-seven years ago J. M. Keynes, writing the last passages of his great book, said that he did so "at the dead season of our fortunes", and declared that not the acts of statesmen, but the undercurrents in political history, would shape the next events, and he added that "those forces of instruction and imagination which change opinion" were our only way of influencing these hidden currents.

From that time his name has been splendidly associated with the forces of instruction and imagination which he believed in . . . and it must be with feelings of high admiration and of incalculable loss that readers in many countries find in the latest issue of the "Economic Journal"—edited by him for thirty-three years—his last article.

Once more he comes before the world with familiar simplicity of style to serve wisest instruction and proportioned imagination. His subject is "The Balance of Payments of the United States"; his instruction is that popular ideas on it are wrong, and the imaginative approach to world questions for which he reasons is illustrated in the quiet sentence, "We shall do well not to fear the future too much".

The article in which, being dead, Keynes yet speaks, is, of course, one only to be comprehended in all its meanings and its sources by economists themselves, but it gives the editor of the "Economic Journal" the opportunity to make an announcement which will be welcomed by a wider circle, and of which we eagerly look forward to the fulfilment.

In the course of an epitome of what the death of Lord Keynes means to the world, to Britain, to his friends, and to their own science and their "Journal", the editors propose "to devote a later issue primarily to a memorial of his many-sided genius".

. . . In the annals of English prose, apart from anything

else, there is a place for Keynes, as there has been long since for J. S. Mill and Walter Bagehot.

With deep regret we have to record the death of John Lewis Paton, who from 1903 to 1924 was High Master of Manchester Grammar School, and from 1925 to 1933 was President of the Memorial University College of Newfoundland. His death occurred on the 28th of April, 1946, at Stanley Avenue, Beckenham, in his eighty-third year.

JOHN LEWIS PATON.

Mr. Paton was among the greatest head masters of his time, and throughout the twenty-one years of his residence in Manchester he was a firm friend of the Rylands Library, and for several years was a member of its Council of Governors.

John Lewis Paton, born on 13th August, 1863, was a son of the late Dr. Paton, Congregational Minister of Nottingham, and was at school in Germany, where he became head of the school.

It was at Rugby as an assistant master that Paton first tested his ideals in practice, but both the schools of which he was afterwards the head were of a different type. University College School and Manchester Grammar School were both mainly, if not entirely, for day boys, and for that reason they were ideally suited to Paton's characteristic gifts.

Such schools have their special difficulties and problems, differing essentially from those of the great boarding schools, ancient and modern, and Paton's success in mastering those difficulties was the true measure of his greatness.

At University College School he began, and at Manchester he continued, the plan of taking into his private house, as boarders, a few boys whom he specially wished to help, characteristically making no charge.

In later life he often told how his interest in English literature was awakened by hearing Owen Seaman recite Tennyson's "Idylls" in the dormitory at night. Ever afterwards he deplored the narrow view that would confine a boy's reading to the classics, and as sixth form master at several schools he took great pains to remedy the deficiency.

Going up to St. John's, Cambridge, he was placed in the

first division of the first class in the Classical Tripos, Part I, of 1886, and he also obtained a first in Part II in 1887, with special distinction, and was second Chancellor's medallist. He was at once elected a Fellow of St. John's and, after being an assistant master at the Leys School, Cambridge, for a year, he was invited by Dr. Percival to take the Lower Bench at Rugby.

At the beginning of his career Paton struck out boldly for kindly understanding interest in the individual boy, vivacity in class teaching, and wide social sympathies. He held the post of Tutor to the Town boys, and saw other work outside the school waiting to be done, including classes for workmen in the town—a great railway centre.

After ten years at Rugby he was appointed head master of University College, London, where he started a very successful commercial side. At Manchester he tried to do the same thing, but desisted when he found the University was opening a faculty of commerce. His originality was unbounded. He organised an exhibition of boys' hobbies and when asked if it might include a collection of caricatures of the masters, he replied: "Yes, if you begin with me".

Paton understood the boys' overflowing spirits, joining them in their open-air recreations, sympathising with their foibles, confessing his own youthful delinquencies, understanding their temptations, tactfully guiding their spiritual struggles, and at the same time denouncing with fierce wrath anything that savoured of meanness and above all of impurity.

It was in Manchester that Paton found the real work of his life. He developed a strong affection for the northern boy, and he found full scope and was given a free hand to carry out his ideals, which included important reforms in teaching. The results were striking, for not only did the school more than maintain its high standard in University distinctions, but was successful in the newly instituted Certificate Examinations, which he was quick to adopt as a test.

A lover of nature himself, he encouraged all efforts to open their eyes to its beauties. The same was true of music and art, especially handicraft, but his influence extended far beyond the work done in class hours.

From the first he saw the inner value of the Scout movement, and introduced it with great success, taking part in it himself. The masters whom he trained led trekking parties of boys across France over the Alps into Italy, over the Pyrenees, through the Black Forest, and along the coasts of Norway. He gave special attention to physical drill, and medical inspection. He joined the boys in their cross-country runs, and, under his regime, the school games flourished as never before. He was untiring in his efforts to train his boys to help others, to support the lads clubs founded by old boys of the school.

By the time he left, in 1924, the boys under him numbered 1800. He founded and presided over the Old Mancunians Association.

All the time he was carrying on ceaseless activities for the betterment of those outside the school. Work for temperance, and relief of famine-stricken areas abroad. He fought the evils of gambling and betting, and organised a movement for providing real recreation for the people's leisure. He promoted friendly international relations, by interchange of scholars and teachers, by entertaining parties from foreign schools, and by encouraging visits to foreign countries.

Paton was in constant demand as speaker and preacher, and was always fresh, breezy and inspiring. As an educationist he filled a number of high positions, and as a member of the Consultative Committee his advice was of the greatest value to what then was the Board of Education. He found little leisure for writing. His one important book was his biography of his father, which appeared in 1914.

After leaving Manchester he lectured for the National Council of Education in Canada, until in 1923 he was appointed President of the Memorial College of St. John's, Newfoundland, a post he held until 1933. He not only carried out his duties of administration, but took more than his share in the work of teaching. In Newfoundland, as in England, he found time to take a close interest in matters outside his official duties. He saw the necessity of developing the interest of the people in the study of the natural resources of their country. Here he was an inspiration and a force, not only in the college but in the wider sphere of Newfoundland life.

In 1934 he retired and found a haven in Kent, not far from the road followed by the Canterbury Pilgrims. But here again he found opportunities for activity, not actually teaching, but with his finger on the pulse of education. In 1939, with the noise of the Battle of Britain roaring overhead, he laboured on, working for refugees, evacuees, the College of the Sea, war savings, and on the land. In his seventy-eighth year he was oncre more called back to the class-room to fill a gap in the ranks of the teachers as an assistant master.

This bare record can convey but a fraction of the activity of this long life of service. Not one good cause ever appealed to Paton in vain.

His last visit to Manchester in 1941 was, appropriately enough, to deliver the Memorial Lecture in the Rylands Library on the occasion of the tercentenary of the visit of Comenius to this country. It was a noble tribute of probably the greatest educationist of this century to the greatest educationist of the seventeenth.

For many of the foregoing tributes we are indebted to the writers of the obituary notices which appeared in *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*.

We regret also to have to record the death of Charles Henry St. John Hornby, which took place at his residence at Chantmarle, Dorchester, on Friday, the 26th of April.

ST. JOHN HORNBY.

Mr. Hornby, born on the 25th of June, 1867, was the eldest son of the Rev. C. E. Hornby of Ashendene, Hertfordshire. He was educated at Harrow and New College, Oxford, where he obtained his Blue for rowing number four in the Oxford eight, which beat Cambridge by a length in 1890.

Having been called to the Bar in 1892, he entered the business of W. H. Smith and Son, and became, in course of time, its senior partner, and was responsible for arranging with Moberly Bell the terms upon which *The Times* should be sold from shops and bookstalls throughout the country.

In 1894, at the age of twenty-seven, Mr. Hornby set up a printing press as a family affair in Hertfordshire. For several

years all the work was done by Mr. Hornby and his sisters, and " some little help from Cicely Barclay ".

In 1898 he married Cicely, the eldest daughter of Charles Barclay, of Bayford, and in 1899 the press was moved to Shelley House, in Cheyne Walk, on the Thames Embankment, at Chelsea. Here Mrs. Hornby was the helpmeet and collaborator of her husband from the first in the development of the Press, which has become world famous, and we dare to say unsurpassed. It was from the first a personal venture whence broadsides and poems, commemorating some family event, were made the stepping stones to the great press, which was evolved from these small beginnings. Here Mr. Hornby continued to do much of the setting himself but, later, was assisted by one or two discerning workmen.

When considering the type which was to form the basis of his new fount, he realised that Jenson's type had been appropriated by William Morris for his Kelmscott Press, and by Cobden Sanderson, after improvement, for his Doves Press, and he was induced to turn to the type of the two migrant German printers, Sweynheym and Pannartz, who set up their first press in Italy at Subiaco, some forty miles from Rome, and designed, or had designed for them, a type which they first employed in printing an edition of Cicero's " De Officiis ". That type, with modifications, was adopted by Hornby.

Hornby was not only a discriminating collector of mediæval and renaissance manuscripts, but with the help of printers, illuminators, calligraphers and binders, whom he inspired and commissioned to assist him, he succeeded in the establishment of his world-famous press.

By the year 1935, when he closed the career of the Ashendene Press, he had printed forty major books, in as many years. His crowning book was a text of " Ecclesiasticus ", edited by his partner, Mr. A. D. Power.

A writer in the " Times Literary Supplement " has well said : that " centuries from now there will be exhibitions of beautiful books, as there are to-day. Often, in the future, the final book of the Ashendene Press will be laid open under glass, and most often, one hopes, at pages 90-91, not only because it is at the

middle of the volume, not only because a fine initial and chapter heading are on the recto page, but also because on the left hand page the student will read :

> 'I came last of all,
> As one that gleaneth after the grape-gatherers :
> By the blessing of the Lord I made progress,
> And filled my wine press as a grape-gatherer.
> Consider that I laboured not for myself alone,
> But for all them that seek instruction.'

Can there be a living man who would not envy so great a printer the experience of setting those lines in his crowning book?

And yet, we venture to consider that an equally interesting volume produced by the press was :

> "A descriptive Bibliography of the Books printed at the Ashendene Press MDCCCXCV—MCMXXXV," which has become world-famous.

By the death of Sir Charles W. C. Oman, which took place on the 25th of June, the study of history has suffered a loss which may be described as well-nigh irreparable.

SIR CHARLES OMAN.

Sir Charles was Chichele Professor of Modern History from 1905 until his recent retirement. He was eighty-six years of age.

Charles William Chadwick Oman was of Orcadian descent, but was born in India, in 1860, where his father was a planter. From Winchester he proceeded to New College, Oxford, as a scholar in 1878. A distinguished career was crowned by his election, in 1883, to a Fellowship of All Souls College, with which he has been connected ever since.

After many years of work in the historical teaching of the University, and more especially of New College, he became, in 1900, deputy for the Chichele Professor of Modern History (Montagu Burrows), and upon the death of Dr. Burrows in 1905, he succeeded him, and had only lately retired.

Oman possessed a wider range of knowledge than almost any other contemporary historian. His early reputation was gained by his work on military history, and he remained faithful

to this topic, and will be best remembered by his books on the art of war in the Middle Ages (1898), and in the sixteenth century (1937), and by his great "History of the Peninsula War". But he was also a recognised authority and published important works upon Russian and Byzantine history, the "dark ages" of European history, the Anglo-Saxon and Lancastrian periods of English history, and other topics. He had the gift of writing good small books as well as large ones, and his school histories of Greece and England have a vast circulation. There was no period of Western history upon which he was not qualified to express an opinion, and his knowledge of sources was encyclopædic.

He was keenly interested in the personal aspects of history, and his interest illuminated all his writings. He was a pronounced Conservative, but he never allowed his convictions to prejudice his historical work, which was remote from current controversies.

We regret to have to record the death of Dr. Theodore Watt, managing director of the Aberdeen University Press, which took place on Friday, the 5th of July. Theodore Watt, who was born at Aberdeen on the 5th of February, 1884, was the third son of William Watt, joint editor and proprietor of the *Aberdeen Free Press*. He was educated at the Grammar School and University of his native town, graduating in Arts in 1904.

DOCTOR THEODORE WATT.

In that same year he entered the service of the Rosemount Press, and in 1932, when the Press was amalgamated with the Aberdeen University Press, he was appointed managing director of the new company.

Watt served as president of the Scottish Alliance of Master Printers from 1930 to 1932, and was president of the British Federation of Master Printers for 1937-38. In 1937 he headed the British delegation to the International Congress of Master Printers in Budapest. In Aberdeen he was for many years prominent as an educational administrator, and throughout his life he kept in close touch with his old school and University. At school he edited the school magazine, and later compiled "The Aberdeen Grammar School Roll of Pupils, 1795-1919",

and at the University he edited " Alma Mater ", and later published " The Roll of Graduates in the University of Aberdeen, 1901-25 ", with supplement for the years 1860-1900. He was an assessor on the General Council of the University Court in 1942. In 1938 the University conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.

His other publications included " A Record of the Celebration of the Tercentenary of the Introduction of the Art of Printing into Aberdeen by Edward Raban in the year 1862 ".

Throughout the years of his direction of the Press as general manager Dr. Watt rendered great service to the Rylands Library, which we remember with gratitude.

We learn with pleasure that Dr. Edward W. Watt is to succeed his brother as general manager of the Press.

AMERICAN MEMORIAL CHAPEL IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

A small part of St. Paul's Cathedral, the Metropolitan Cathedral Church of the British Empire in London is to become for ever America. In November, 1945, Marshal of the Royal Air Force Viscount Trenchard and Sir Clive Baillieu, as President and Chairman respectively of the American and British Commonwealth Association wrote to *The Times*, to appeal for support for the creation within St. Paul's Cathedral of a Chapel to serve as a permanent memorial to the common sacrifice of the British and American peoples in the World War. St. Paul's, where the most eminent of our own fighting leaders have been laid to rest or commemorated, and whose survival amid the surrounding destruction became for many during the darkest hours of the war a symbol of the ultimate deliverance, is a fitting shrine for the memorial of the united endeavours of the Anglo-Saxon race in the cause of freedom.

The proposed Chapel will especially commemorate those Americans who died and lie buried in this country, or who fell when fighting in operations based on these islands. A Roll of Honour containing the names of these men and women, in the preparation of which General Eisenhower has asked to be permitted to co-operate, will be handed over to the Dean and Chapter for safe keeping in the Chapel.

The eastern apse of the Cathedral, behind the High Altar, is the site chosen for the Memorial Chapel. The three existing windows will be glazed with coloured glass depicting appropriate subjects ; there will be specially designed lecterns to hold the books of the Roll of Honour ; the whole will be planned and furnished as to form a self-contained shrine. It is envisaged that in future years this Chapel will become a place of pilgrimage for citizens of the United States who visit this country.

The Pilgrim Trust, having in mind the source from which the Trust originated, and the national character of the proposed Memorial Chapel in St. Paul's Cathedral, sent a substantial donation to the fund.

Such is the just and appropriate gesture at the end of the second great war, in which Americans have come to fight with us against the common enemy entrenched in Europe, and we are grateful to the Trustees of the Pilgrim Trust for their ready initiation of the appeal for help, coupled with their support, to enable us to give to this memorial the character of a national memorial to our former American allies.

London has already commemorated in stone great Americans. One is George Washington, whose statue stands outside the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, and the other, Abraham Lincoln, who faces Westminster Abbey. A third is to be erected in commemoration of Theodore Roosevelt.

In the belief that many of the people of Britain will wish to make the chapel a truly national memorial to their former American Allies, the organisers invite contributions of any amount, which may be paid over the counter of any Bank in the British Isles.

PROPOSED MANCHESTER STRASBOURG ASSOCIATION.

An interesting movement has been set on foot, with a view of establishing an active association between the Universities of Manchester and Strasbourg, and to inaugurate a " Manchester-Strasbourg Association ".

A delegation appointed by the Senate, consisting of Professors Robert Platt (Medicine), C. W. Wardlaw (Botany), and Eugène Vinaver (French Language and Literature) in the University of Manchester, paid a visit to the

University of Strasbourg at the invitation of the University and the French Government, whose mission was to investigate the possibilities of a close co-operation between the two Universities.

The delegation made a stay of three days in Strasbourg, and the results of their visit exceeded their highest expectations. They succeeded not only in obtaining much useful information about the various Faculities, but in discovering many practical ways in which the activities of the University of Manchester could be linked with those of Strasbourg.

The three main points discussed were exchange of students, exchange of teachers, and exchange of publications. In all these directions there is much that can be done. It is hoped that a number of Manchester post-graduate students will have the opportunity of spending a year each in Manchester, and *vice-versa*. There are also to be regular visits of Strasbourg professors to Manchester, and of Manchester professors to Strasbourg. The two Universities can supplement each other's work very usefully and this applies as much to Science and Medicine as to Arts and Theology. We are expecting a return visit of Strasbourg professors in Manchester next session, and it is hoped that some of them will take the opportunity of lecturing to our students.

The exchange of publications will take the form of a close co-operation between our University Press and the Strasbourg University Press.

The latter has two important series, one for the Faculty of Arts and one for the Faculty of Theology. We shall receive them both and send to them our publications in exchange.

The report of the delegates has been adopted by a Senate Committee, but it has not yet been before the Senate. The whole matter will take a more concrete and official form next term, as soon as Senate and Council have dealt with it, but there is little doubt that it will be sympathetically treated, and that the scheme will very soon be put into operation.

Elsewhere we print an article by Professor Jean Frappier, one of the Strasbourg professors, on " Le Style de Villehardouin dans les discours de sa chronique ". Apart from the intrinsic interest of the article, its publication in the RYLANDS BULLETIN,

we are assured, would be much appreciated, both in Manchester and in Strasbourg, as the first concrete manifestation of the newly established association between the two Universities.

It is hoped that the co-operation between the two Universities will extend to all Faculties, and will take the form of frequent exchanges of students, teachers and publications.

The Strasbourg University Press is only too anxious to co-operate in this way. The publication of the works of the Manchester scholars in Strasbourg, and of the Strasbourg scholars in Manchester, is likely to be helpful on both sides, and would greatly strengthen the links between them.

LANCASHIRE PARISH REGISTER SOCIETY.

A meeting of the Lancashire Parish Register Society was held in the Central Library, Manchester, at 2.15 P.M. on Tuesday, 10th September. The chair was taken by Professor C. R. Cheney, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester, who succeeded Dr. E. F. Jacob, F.B.A., as President of the Society on the latter's resignation earlier this year owing to his return to All Souls College, Oxford. Dr. Jacob retains a seat on the Council.

Professor Cheney drew attention to the excellent progress being made by the Society with its publications, volume 84 of which, the Register of Burtonwood Chapel in Warrington parish for 1668-1837, had recently appeared, edited by Dr. R. Dickinson. Huyton, edited by Mr. F. A. Bailey, already in print, only awaited binding, and would probably be in the hands of members during October. Sefton, which begins in 1597, should appear in 1947, edited by the Rev. C. F. Russell, and Lancaster the following year. In addition, an extra volume, the Register of Leigh, had been transcribed by the Joint Hon. Secretary, Mr. A. Sparke, and would be published as soon as possible. Efforts were also being made to arrange for the publication of a second extra volume, the Commonwealth Register of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, which had been transcribed by the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. E. Bosdin Leech, and the Rev. J. Flitcroft. This Register, at one time missing for some sixty years but fortunately still in an excellent state of preservation, was exhibited to members,

together with some fifty manuscript volumes of Lancashire Parish Registers transcribed by members of the Society in addition to those already published.

In his report the Hon. Secretary stated that of Lancashire Registers beginning in the sixteenth century only ten remained unprinted and expressed the hope that these would be published in the near future. The Hon. Treasurer said that it was only by keeping volumes down in size a little and by gifts from various supporters that the Society was enabled to "keep level"; the publication of the Leigh Register as an extra volume, for example, was made possible by a donation of £250 by Mr. T. R. Dootson of Leigh. It had been hoped to deal with Lancaster similarly, but the Register would have to appear as an ordinary volume in 1948. The cost of the average volume issued by the Society was about £200. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the Society has compiled a guide to transcribers, editors and indexers working on Parish Registers, with the aim of saving labour and printing space and also of securing uniformity.

FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

Negotiations are in progress between Commander C. G. Vyner, of Studley Royal, owner of Fountains Abbey, and the Roman Catholic Church for the sale of the Abbey. It is the intention of the Church, should the sale be completed, to restore the Abbey as a Benedictine Monastery, thus making a memorial to the members of the Catholic faith who fell in the two great wars.

A contract of sale already drawn up also includes Fountains Hall and sixty acres of land, and contains a provision safeguarding present public access to grounds and abbey.

Fountains was a Cistercian monastery, but inasmuch as the Cistercians were a branch of the Benedictine Order, founded to restore the Benedictine system to its original severity, there is a relationship between the founders and the prospective occupiers.

Fountains Hall was built in the sixteenth century of stone taken from the abbey.

Studley Royal and Fountains became one estate in 1768, and on the death of the second Marquis of Ripon without issue,

in 1923, it was bought by its present owner, the second cousin of the Marquis.

THE PILGRIM TRUST.

We have before us the fifteenth annual report of "The Pilgrim Trust", the opening paragraphs of which are devoted to a fitting tribute by the Chairman, Lord Macmillan, to the fifteen years of devoted service of Mr. Thomas Jones, C.H., as Secretary of the Trust.

As the report points out, the word "enjoyed" is the right word to employ in speaking of the happy relationship which for fifteen years subsisted between the Trustees and their Secretary.

The dominant idea in the mind of Mr. John Harkness, the founder of the Trust, was to promote and assist the preservation of the spiritual and material heritage of our land, and the translation of that lofty aim into practical action became the day-to-day work of the Trust.

Here T. J. was in his element, says the report, and for that very reason his memory will be cherished and honoured, and we wish him many years of life in which to enjoy the well-merited honour that has been conferred upon him as a "Pilgrim Trustee".

This is the first report he has not produced, and it is certainly fitting that it should be adorned with his portrait and be prefaced by a tribute of gratitude to him for his invaluable services throughout the years that have elapsed since its foundation.

We congratulate the Hon. J. F. A. Brown upon his appointment as successor to Mr. Jones, and we wish him joy and success in the responsible position he now takes up, in which happily he will enjoy the co-operation of his predecessor.

Much as we should like to refer at length to work the Trust has accomplished during the war years of its removal to Harlech, with all the attendant difficulties, the limitation of space prevents us; the news, however, of its return to London, and of its continued activities, in spite of their unavoidable curtailment, is very welcome.

We cannot refrain from the briefest reference to the work which the Trust has accomplished in connexion with the American Memorial Chapel in St. Paul's Cathedral; Sir John Soane's Museum; Abingdon Abbey; St. Augustine's Abbey, Canter-

bury; Preservation of Stained Glass; and Westminster Abbey Monuments, to mention only a few which are of special interest to the writer.

RUSKIN'S HOME.

The President of the Ruskin Society and Friends of Brantwood (Mr. J. Howard Whitehouse), speaking at the anniversary meeting held at Coniston on Saturday, the 10th of August, announced that Oxford University had accepted the gift of Ruskin's home, "Brantwood", on the shores of Lake Coniston, as a holiday centre for senior members and their families, and as a reading centre for undergraduates.

Oxford University, it was stated, had agreed to co-operate with the Lancashire Education Committee in building a college of adult education on part of two hundred acres of land entailed in the gift of Brantwood.

WELLCOME HISTORICAL MEDICAL MUSEUM.

Dr. E. Ashworth Underwood, the Director of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 183-193 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1, asks us to announce that a catalogue of the extensive library of the museum is being prepared, but that it will be some time before this work will be published. Meanwhile, if any person who is preparing a bibliography of the works of any writer in the field of medicine or the allied sciences desires to include the location of known copies of the different works, Dr. Underwood will be pleased to send him, on request, a list of the various works and separate editions of that writer which are in the library of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, and applications should be made to him in writing. It is hoped to open the library for the use of students at an early date, and an announcement will be made to that effect, but meanwhile the above particulars will be supplied on request.

SHELLEY MANUSCRIPTS.

Sir John Shelley-Rolls, great nephew of the poet, has given to the Bodleian Library his collection of Shelley MSS., including fourteen notebooks of the poet, a volume of holograph fragments of verse and prose, twenty-seven letters, five notebooks of Mary Shelley, and over a hundred of her letters. The most important section

of this new gift is undoubtedly the notebooks from which the greater part of the lyrical poems has been rescued by a series of editors from Mary Shelley, who published the "Posthumous Poems" in 1824, down to Roger Ingpen and Sir John Shelley-Rolls himself. Their importance for constituting the text of the poems may be gauged from the fact that of the fourteen poems of Shelley included in the "Oxford Book of English Verse", six were printed in his lifetime and seven came from the notebooks.

The Bodleian already had a collection of Shelley relics and MSS., mainly given by Lady Shelley in 1893. Sir John Shelley-Rolls's munificence will give the Library a unique position for students of Shelley.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY ADMINISTRATION.

Two very important works on library administration have reached us from Chicago and North Carolina, both of which are very welcome additions to our reference resources upon the functions of the University library, and upon the facilities for study and research they offer.

The first is from the University of Chicago, and consists of:

"A Study of the Organization, Administration and Functions of the University Library." By Louis Round Wilson and Maurice F. Tauber. University of Chicago Press. $5.

It deals primarily with the functions of the University and its library, and in the course of its seventeen chapters it covers in an exhaustive manner the principles and methods which characterise the organisation, administration and function of the University library.

It is a volume that runs to 570 pages, divided into seventeen chapters, each of which is furnished with an exhaustive bibliography, forming a compendium of information upon the various departments of the library it is intended to serve. It is a most valuable reference tool, which should find a place upon the shelves of every large library, and should be at hand for constant reference by the chief, and also by members of the senior staff and the administrative body.

We congratulate the editors upon the production of a volume which will be a constant source of guidance and inspiration to the writer of this note.

The second work deals with :

" Library Resources of the University of North Carolina : A Summary of Facilities for Study and Research. Edited with a Foreword by Charles E. Rush, Director of Libraries." University of North Carolina Press. Price $3.50.

This survey of the library's resources was prepared with the assistance of members of the Faculty, and is edited with a Foreword by the Director of Libraries.

Never before has it been our privilege to examine two such outstanding expositions of library practice as those before us.

The occasion of the North Carolina volume was the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the University, and there could be no more appropriate gesture than to commemorate it by the production of such a volume dealing, as it does, with the rôle of the University in its responsibility for the promotion of culture and scholarship.

This survey by specialists who know intimately the strength and needs of the library's collections in their particular fields of responsibility was the ideal plan of measuring the resources of the life and activities of the University.

The chief emphasis is upon the promotion of culture and scholarship and the record, to judge from a hurried perusal of the volume, calls for very hearty congratulation, and we venture to offer to Mr. Rush, and his staff of collaborators, our grateful thanks for a most inspiring group of studies, which will act as incentives to those who follow them in their ambitious promotion of the high aims they have set before themselves.

Mr. Rush, as Director, is to be most warmly congratulated upon the part he has taken in organising this set of studies, and to his active staff of collaborators in the production of such an attractive volume.

RECENT RYLANDS PUBLICATIONS.

The following is a list of recent publications, consisting of articles which have appeared in preceding issues of the BULLETIN :—

" Monte Cassino, 529-1944." By Dom Romanus Rio. 8vo, pp. 20. Price eighteenpence net.

" Concerning the Reconstruction of the Aramaic Gospels." By

David Daube, LL.D., Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 36. Price two shillings net.

"In Commemoration of Archbishop Laud, executed on Tower Hill, 1645." By J. R. H. Moorman, D.D. 8vo, pp. 16. Price eighteenpence net.

"The Pentateuch Problem: Some New Aspects." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D. 8vo, pp. 22. Price eighteenpence net.

"Forethoughts on Later Greek Comedy." By T. B. L. Webster, M.A., F.S.A. 8vo, pp. 16. Price eighteenpence net.

"Arabic Transmission of Greek Thought to Medieval Europe." By R. Walzer. 8vo, pp. 24. Price eighteenpence net.

"The Morrow of the Great Charter: An Addendum." By H. G. Richardson, M.A., B.Sc. 8vo, pp. 16. Price eighteenpence net.

"Psychological Implications of the Culture-Pattern Theory." By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc. 8vo, pp. 24. Price eighteenpence net.

"The Character of the Gospel-Record." By C. J. Cadoux, M.A., D.D., D.Litt. 8vo, pp. 20. Price eighteenpence net.

"A hitherto unnoticed Biblical MS. in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York." By F. Harrison, Canon, Chancellor and Librarian. 8vo, pp. 20. Price eighteenpence net.

"English University Clerks in the Later Middle Ages: The Problem of Maintenance." By Ernest F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil. 8vo, pp. 24. Price eighteenpence net.

"The Unity of the Old Testament." By Harold H. Rowley, M.A., D.D. 8vo, pp. 36. Price two shillings net.

"The Psychology of Togetherness." By H. Bompas Smith, M.A., M.Ed. 8vo, pp. 10. Price one shilling net.

"Menander's Plays of Reconciliation." By T. B. L. Webster, M.A., F.S.A. 8vo, pp. 26. Price eighteenpence net.

"The Life of Jesus: A Survey of the Available Material: (4) The Gospel According to St. Matthew." By T. W. Manson, M.A., Litt.D., D.D., F.B.A. 8vo, pp. 29. Price eighteenpence net.

RYLANDS PUBLIC LECTURES.

The following is a list of the public afternoon lectures (the forty-fifth series) which have been arranged for delivery in the lecture-hall of the Library during the current session, 1946-47: At 3 p.m. in the afternoon:

Wednesday, 16th October, 1946. "King Lear." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th November, 1946. "A Traveller in the Fourth Century, A.D., from Unpublished Greek Papyri in the Rylands Collection." By Colin H. Roberts, M.A., Editor of the Rylands "Catalogue of Greek Papyri," Fellow of St. John's, Oxford.

Wednesday, 11th December, 1946. "Menander: Plays of Social Criticism." By T. B. L. Webster, M.A., F.S.A., Hulme Professor of Greek in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th January, 1947. "The Zū-bird in Ancient Mesopotamian Art and Literature." By T. Fish, Ph.D. (Camb.), Lecturer in Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th February, 1947. "The Life of Jesus: A Study of the Available Material. (5) The Gospel According to St. John." By T. W. Manson, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th March, 1947. "Peace, War, and Culture Patterns." By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the Library since the publication of our last issue.

GENERAL ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

ART AND BIBLIOGRAPHY: BLUNT (Anthony), "The French Drawings in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle," fol.; BRITISH ACADEMY, "Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Vol. 3, The Lockett Collection, part 4: Peloponnese-Aeolis," 4to; BRITISH MUSEUM, "General Catalogue of printed

books. Second edition, Vol. 39: Clau-Cosa," fol.; CLARK (Sir Kenneth), "Leon Battista Alberti on painting. Annual Italian Lecture of the British Academy, 1944," 8vo; "CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM." U.S. of America, Metropolitan Museum, New York, Fasc. 1: Arrentine Relief Ware by C. Alexander," 4to; DEGAS, "Works in Sculpture, edited by John Rewald," 4to; DOUGLAS (R. Langton), "Piero di Cosimo," 8vo; KENDRICK (T. D.), "Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900," 8vo; KIMBALL (Fiske), "The creation of Rococco" (Philadelphia Museum of Art)," 8vo; NIJHOFF (W.) and Kronenberg (M. E.)," Nederlandsche Bibliographie, 1500-40," 8vo; PANOFSKY (Erwin), "Albrecht Dürer," 2 vols., fol.; SORBELLI (A.), "Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia (Fondata dal G. Mazzatinti)," Vols. 72-74, 4to; SUMMERSON (John), "Georgian architecture," 8vo; TAYLOR (Archer), "Renaissance guides to books: an inventory and some conclusions," 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY: ALLEN (G. C.), "A short economic history of modern Japan: 1867-1937," 8vo; ARNOTT (W. G.), "The place-names of the Deben valley parishes," 8vo; ATIYAH (E.), "An Arab tells his story: a study of loyalties," 8vo; BALTEAU (J.) etc., "Dictionnaire de biographie française," fasc. 19, 4to; BARKER (E), "Essays on government," 8vo; BASLER REFORMATION, "Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation," 5 vols., 8vo; BAYKOV (A.), "The development of the Soviet economic system," 8vo; BOWEN (R. Le Baron), "Early Rehoboth: documented historical studies of families and events in this Plymouth Colony township," 8vo; BOYD (J. P.), "The Declaration of Independence: the evolution of the text as shown in facsimiles of various drafts by Thomas Jefferson," fol.; BRITAIN, "Recording Britain" (A pictorial record of Britain's changing face, financed by the Pilgrim Trust, by 95 well-known artists), 4 vols., 4to; CHADWICK (H. M.), "The nationalities of Europe and the growth of national ideologies," 8vo; CHADWICK (N. K.), "The beginnings of Russian history: an enquiry into sources," 8vo; CHAIR (Somerset de), "A mind on the march." 8vo; CHENEY (C. R.), "Handbook of dates for students of English history" (Royal Historical Society), 8vo; CLARKE (M. L.), "Greek studies in England, 1700-1830,"

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SOME ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIAN TRADITIONS CONCERNING MEN AND SOCIETY.[1]

By T. FISH, Ph.D.,
READER IN ASSYRIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

MANY have taken in hand to set forth the central beliefs of the peoples of ancient Mesopotamia, concerning man and his " city-going ways ". Why then this present undertaking ? For two of many reasons. First: every serious student of the ancient literature, in the Sumerian and Akkadian Languages, at first hand, must make the attempt for himself under the impulse of his own questionings formulated after his own fashion. Second: new data, and better understanding of data long familiar, correct not a little of earlier reconstructions of ancient Mesopotamian questionings and answers.

The question to be answered here is this: what did the pre-Christian folk in Babylonia and Assyria say they knew about the world and about man ? How came he to be ? What was his first native condition ? Whence the world of things for his use ? How came he to know his way about the world of things so that he might live well ? His last end ?

Quite early after the rise of the curtain on the Mesopotamian scene—say *c.* 2900 B.C.—the modern reader of cuneiform tablets is led into courts of petty kings, temples of many gods, fields for innumerable herds and flocks and for many labourers. He moves, with clay-tablets as guide-books, over a landscape, flat, broken by patches of wall-girt settlements out of which reared up temple-towers, and criss-crossed by few rivers and numerous canals through palm-belt and cornfields and pastures. He learns of a calendar, of feasts, of sacrifices. He finds society organised, law in action, wages standardised, public works attempted and performed, the traffic of contract, the crafts of architecture, metallurgy, and husbandry, and, for us at least, most important of all, the discipline of letters to which not only the " administration " texts, but also the " school-texts " bear witness. Here is

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday the 9th of January, 1946.

one of the earliest properly historical texts extant written *c.* 2600 B.C. It reads :

> Ur-Nanše, King of Lagaš, son of Gunidu, son of Gursar, built the temple of (the goddess) Nanše, sculpted the statue of Nanše, dug (a) canal and dedicated it to Nanše . . . and chose by omens Ursanabi, as husband of Nanše.[1]

Brief, but arousing endless curiosity. A curtain rises, and there, on this small-town stage, is Nanše, goddess of canals and of all water courses, the inspiration of this kinglet, who bears her name as part of his own, and, for her name's sake, builds, sculpts, digs, and employs the mechanisms of omens, apparently to find her a husband among the men of Lagash.

Here, in Ur-Nanše, we have no savage, but a king, a man with a point of view, which, as Ortega has suggested, is a circumstance which connotes culture and is the negation of the savage state. Here, too, is evidence of cultural institutions : religion, kingship, and husband-and-wife relationship.

There are those of to-day who claim to know how and from what beginnings, the world and men of that old time had " arrived " : under what compulsions men had devised the tools, the social forms, and the view of the world, of which the extant clay tablets are records. But this claim to know " the secret concealed " was made also by some in ancient Mesopotamia. That claim rested on " the tradition relating to things pre-deluvian " which, it was said, the hero Gilgamesh, a sort of Mesopotamian Odysseus for his travels, handed down to men.

How old is that tradition ? To this no sure answer can be given. What we have, and it is almost [2] all that we have, are myths and legends as written. But these are always older than is the writing of them which does but perpetuate what already exists, and has long existed, of myth and legend.

The two myths with which the general public is acquainted, from ancient Mesopotamia, are the " Creation Story " and the " Epic of Gilgamesh ". It must, however, never be forgotten that the versions of these, from which modern translations are made, are the latest extant forms of a long tradition. For not myths only, but also the writing of myths has a history. Hence

[1] *SAK.*, S. 2, a) ; cf. *JNES.*, vol. ii (1943), p. 117.

[2] " Almost all ", because, e.g., ritual texts provide relevant material.

it is that some would trace the latest, first millennium B.C. texts to sources, Akkadian or Sumerian, so much earlier, say, the second, or even the third millennium B.C. But such efforts have doubtful claim to success, and are premature.

For example, we have material, in the Sumerian language, which belongs to the story of the hero Gilgamesh. It is estimated that the Sumerian version consisted of a series of four or five double-column tablets of about two hundred lines each,[1] in much unlike the later Semitic versions.[2] It seems likely that the Gilgamesh story was current in ancient Mesopotamia at a time when Sumerian kings ruled the land, and Sumerian language was the speech of the population. But it is not certain that the Sumerian version is the original version.

In respect of the " Creation " story, we are, in one important matter, still less fortunate. There has not been discovered, as yet, any true prototype of the story. What we have are traditions, already existing in old Babylonian times, i.e. soon after 2000 B.C., about world-making. These traditions do not always agree, either with each other or with the later composite form, of the first millennium B.C., which translations in English, French, German and Italian have made familiar.

All this means that there is not, as yet, sufficient evidence to warrant a confident statement as to the general belief in respect of the origins of the world, man and society at any particular period of Sumerian and Akkadian civilisation, except, perhaps towards its close from the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C. We must be content with such fragments of the learning of the past which have been found at various sites from Ur in the south, to Nineveh in the north, by scribes not all of one time and not all of one " school ". By asking questions of these fragments, we can obtain some of the answers we seek.

The first question : who made the world and man, and from what ? From the extant records of the third millennium no answer to this question can be extracted. And yet, men of that age may have posed the question and given an answer to it. They have already speculated on the relations between the gods.

[1] *JRAS.*, 1932, iv, p. 912.

[2] Cf. S. A. Kramer, *Gilgamesh and the Huluppu Tree* (1940).

For example, the god Enlil is called the father of the gods in pre-Agade times.[1] And the god of heaven, AN, is called "the King of the gods"[2] in post-Agade times. But the texts never say or hint that gods or the world or man owe their origin to any particular agency, or being, or to any action which may be described as "making". Nevertheless, it is tempting to go outside that class of evidence to this other: already in the first half of the third millennium B.C., natives were writing what are known as "School-Texts". These are *classified* lists of objects, and may be cited as evidence that they had already begun to sort things out, according to some principle. This fact may, perhaps, create an antecedent probability that the Sumerians were of a temper disposed to order in the mind, even in respect of what we call "ultimate" questions. It remains, however, that if they were, they have left no record of the fact on the documents of their day. In all such matters they were, in contrast to their successors in power, the Semites, a secret people.

A text, in Sumerian and Akkadian, found at Abu Habb'h, ancient Sippar, published by Dr. L. W King in 1901,[3] purports to describe conditions before our land-world was.

> Not yet had holy house, house of the gods in a holy place been made,
> Nor had reed sprung up, nor tree been made,
> Nor had brick been laid, nor brick-mould been fashioned.
> No house had been made, no city been built.
> No city had been made, no creeping thing been formed.
> The city of Nippur had not been made, E-kur had not been built;
> The city of Erech had not been made, E-aṅna had not been built;
> Apsu had not been made, the city of Eridu had not been built.
> For the holy house, the house of the gods, a site had not been made.
> All lands were sea.

That text may be a thousand years older than the text *Enūma Eliš*, the copy of the poem of Creation made for Ashurbanipal in the seventh century B C It embodies a tradition which appears in the late version to the effect that the source of all being, of gods, and earth and heaven, and all living creatures was water: *Apsu*, the subterranean ocean of sweet water, emerging in fountains, rivers and lakes, and *Tiāmtu*, the ocean of bitter, sea-water which encircles the earth. These two, mingled together, "held all in intrinsic potence."

[1] *SAK.*, 36, n. 1 : 3. [2] *SAK.*, 186 f.). [3] *CT.*, vol. xiii, pl. 35-38.

If importance attaches to the background of national myths and legends, it may here be observed that the background of old Mesopotamian story is not simple: sea, as in the Creation story, cities in the story of the hero Gilgamesh, and forests amidst the hills as in the story of Enkidu within the Gilgamesh story. But the legendary primordial background of all things was the sea, whence came "the multitudinous birth of mortal things". It was a belief born of experience: the experience of the Euphrates nourishing civilisation on its banks. Hence the notion, in a Semitic Incantation, that of all things the Euphrates water is the creator,[1] expressed the accumulated experience of generations of natives of the south country who witnessed the slow but measureable retreat of the waters of the Gulf called Persian, leaving as though by gift of will, fertile land for men; and their experience of near-by islands, such as Dilmun, surpassing rich in foods, upheld by the waters out of which it rose to view.

It is consonant with this reconstruction of background that there is an ancient theology which names, as the creator of man, Ea, the special god of Ziudsudra, the hero of the deluge story. And this may well be the most ancient belief, at least in the marshy lands around the head of the Persian Gulf. For Ea was, apparently, *the* god of the men of the marsh-land, but, in the later pantheon of all Babylonia, he was not supreme.[2] And in the earliest written traditions of the creation of man, not only Ea, but also Enlil, national god of the Sumerians, and An, the heaven-god, and even a goddess, Ninhursag, are said to have made man. Of these Enlil, like Ea, is associated with waters in the late Sumerian age, and, at a later time, the creating deity, Ninhursag, is named as his consort. But An, unmentioned in Sumerian texts of the first half of the third-millennium, is a late-comer amongst the great gods, perhaps, as Thureau-Dangin has suggested, a pale invention of the theologians of Uruk.[3]

The tradition is firm—that out of the toil of waters, sweet and bitter waters, were born the gods, and by the gods came man.

The making of man, as described, and variously, in old

[1] King, *Seven Tablets of the Creation*, vol. i, pp. 128 f.
[2] Cp. E. Burrows, *Dublin Review*, Jan. 1930, pp. 18 f.
[3] *RA.*, xxxii (1935), p. 156, n. 2.

Mesopotamian traditions, was the work of a "craftsman"[1] whether the god Marduk who, according to one account solidified (his own?) blood, and formed bone, and made thereof Man; or, according to another, mixed dirt (*eperu*) with a rush mat, and so created man; or Ea, who from the blood of Kingu, the instigator of the primordial strife, fashioned mankind.[2]

The latest written source relevant here is a quotation from Berossus, a priest of Bel, in the third century B.C.: "The whole universe, consisting of moisture, and animals being generated therein, the deity above mentioned (i.e. Bel) took off his own head; upon which the other gods mixed the blood as it gushed out, with earth, and from whence were formed men. On this account it is that they are rational and partake of divine knowledge".[3]

Berossus attributes man's rationality to his having been constituted in part, of the blood of the head of a god. And for our part we may note that the *Enūma Eliš* account says expressly that the god whose blood contributed to the making of man, was an evil doer. For it was Kingu who had stirred Tiāmat to revolt and the horrors that followed. The implication is, to us at least, clear: the life of men depended, in a real sense, on a death. Also, the blood of which man was formed, was the blood of a sinner. Berossus is witness that with the blood was transmitted intelligence. Would he have agreed that with the blood was also transmitted sinfulness? Lack of evidence forbids further speculation. Perhaps we are far from Genesis!

Why did the gods make man? "In order to settle the gods in dwellings in which their hearts delighted" says the King text.[4] Elsewhere: the dwellings are to be "in a clean place within the cities he shall build". But there must be for the gods not only dwellings but food also, for one text, in Sumerian and perhaps written soon after 2000 B.C., relates how the gods, though they ate well and drank well in their heavenly *DU.KU*, were not sated. Whereat, "for the good of their sacred sheep-

[1] *Enūma Eliš*, Tab. vi, 1.

[2] Cp. *Enūma Eliš*, Tablet vi, 5 f.; *CT.*, xii, pl. 36, l. 17 f.; *Enūma Eliš*, Tablet VI, 29 f. (cp. *AfO.*, xi, 72-74). In Rituals, "Ea formed you of clay".

[3] Cp. Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 25.

[4] line 19.

fold, they put the breath of life into mankind ", and, in their own interest, they baled out from their holy dwelling, livestock and cereals and herbage, and the plough and the yoke. Thereafter there was abundance from heaven ![1]

The matter is expressed differently in *Enūma Eliš*: [2] After Ea, the wise one, had created mankind, and had imposed upon them the cult (*dullu*) of the gods "; and in the Babylonian account: " . . . let us create mankind, the cult of the gods be their portion ". And this latter text goes on to detail the acts of that cult: to establish the boundary ditch, to make shrines fit for the gods, to divide field from field, to irrigate the land, to rear plants, to increase food production, and live stock, fish and fowl, and keep the festivals of the gods.[3]

In the eighth century B.C., the Greek Hesiod was preaching the dignity of work: " There is no shame in toil; idleness is shame ". But to Hesiod, toil was, by the dispensation of the gods, a path to human excellence. To the Mesopotamian, toil was an imposition on man by the gods for their special benefit: " to till the ground and provide habitations for the gods "; [4] or, " that the service of the gods might be established; that their shrines might be built ".[5] The difference between the two philosophies of work is immeasureable.

Nor is there here anything comparable to the Biblical " In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread ". For if punishment is intended, it is the innocent who must toil and so render cult. The word *dullu*, rendered *service, cult*, also means *subservience* and *praise*. Kingu, and perhaps the Lamga deities, had refused *dullu*. Those made of the blood of these must render it, for so had the triumphant god decreed.

Perhaps many will feel that the element in the Mesopotamian Myth of man's making most unlike anything in the Biblical Myth is this: man was made " to liberate " the rebel gods upon whom Marduk had " put a yoke ", according to Tablet vii of the *Enūma*

[1] *RA.*, xxvi (1929), pp. 33-38. [2] Tab. VI, 25 f.

[3] *KAR.* 4, Obv. 26 ff. According to this text, Obv. 1-15, heaven and earth, ditch and canal, banks of Euphrates and Tigris, were in being before man was made.

[4] *KAR.*, 4. [5] King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i, Tab. VI, 6-10.

Eliš.[1] Earlier, in Tablet iv, the matter is put thus : the god Ea communicates to Marduk his plan that " one of the brethren " gods be delivered up and man be fashioned. Marduk agrees : " I will punish Kingu but ye (i.e. the rebel gods) shall live in peace ". He imposed the worship of the gods on man and " set free the gods ".[2] But need we, as some do, see in this " scape-goat "-ism ?

Traditions concerning the creation of man, vary in an important detail. Besides the tradition that the gods, or some particular god, fashioned " man ", or " mankind ", there is a tradition, on a fragment of the Babylonian Creation Epics, preserved at Istanbul, that the ancestors of man were four, not one as in the Bible. And these four were blackheaded.[3] Another text found at Ashur, in the Sumerian and Akkadian languages, has it that from the blood of two craftsmen deities, slain by order of the gods, sprang two men : (AN)UL.LI.GAR.RA and (AN)NI.GAR.RA.[4] But the interpretation of the Mesopotamian tradition, most commonly accepted by those interested to compare and connect Biblical traditions, as in Genesis, with the Mesopotamian, is that there was a first man (singular). And attempts have been made to identify that first man in Mesopotamian story, as Adapha, the hero of the legend of Adapa. Thus, a distinguished Old Testament scholar,[5] argues that inasmuch as the Adapa story is about a man who was " wise and, deceived by a god, refuses the food and drink offered to him by another god " it resembles the biblical myth of Paradise lost.

But it is certain that the Adapa story is not the Biblical story, and Adapa, in the Mesopotamian account, is not the first man. The phrase *Adapa zēr amēlūti*, sometimes translated " Adapa progenitor of mankind ", ought not to be used to prove such opinions. For, in the present condition of the extant text it is doubtful whether the words *zēr amēlūti* refer to Adapa ; and, even if they do, the words can, and elsewhere do, mean merely

[1] A. Falkenstein, *Lit. Kulschrifttexte aus Uruk*, Berlin, 1931, No. 38, obv.

[2] E. Ebeling, *Mitt. der Altor. Ges.*, xii, Heft 4 (1939), 26.

[3] Cp. hymn to Marduk, maker of men ; his word shall not be forgotten " in the mouth of the black-headed ones whom his hands have made ", quoted by King , *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, p. 82.

[4] *KAR*. 4, Rev. 11, 12.

[5] A. Lods, *Israel*, p. 484 (English edition.

" men "—" humankind ". Doubt of the accuracy of the translation, " progenitor of mankind ", often given, is increased by the circumstance that the comparable phrase *zēr ilūti* [1] means " offspring of divinity " and cannot mean " progenitor of divinity " · That the hero of the myth was especially raised up by a god signifies nothing to the purpose. Ancient Mesopotamian story records other instances of the same god, Ea, and of other gods, raising up men for their purposes.

It remains then, that to our present knowledge, the only names given to the first men by ancient Mesopotamian tradition, are (AN)UL.LI.GAR.RA and (AN)NI.GAR.RA.

What was the condition of the first men ? What their earliest physical and cultural circumstance ? Here, and summarily, let it be said that no text has yet been found in Mesopotamia which can be safely considered a " Fall of Man " story, and there is no substantial ground for an alleged " Paradise " of first man, in any important respect comparable with the *Genesis* Paradise story.

But a fairly early text, perhaps of old Babylonian times, written in the Sumerian language, has this to say of man's first condition :

> Men, when they were formed (?) (*ri*)
> knew not foods and fermented drink
> nor knew they clothing wherewith to be clothed ;
> folk went on their great members (i.e. on all fours) ;
> like sheep, with their mouth they ate grass,
> the waters of brooks they drank.[2]

Clearly, a primitive condition. Like to that of Enkidu, the god-sent companion of Gilgamesh.[3] It is said that Aruru, the goddess,

> " fingered some clay, on the desert she moulded (it) : thus on the desert
> Enkidu made she, a warrior, born and begotten,
> Of Ninurta the double, and put forth the whole of his body
> Hair : in the way of a woman he snooded his locks (in a fillet)
> Sprouted luxuriant growth of his hair like (the awns) of barley,

[1] *JRAS.*, 1929, iv, p. 972, l. 9.

[2] Most recent study of this text in *RA.*, xxvi, pp. 35-36.

[3] The late R. C. Campbell Thompson's translation is used in this lecture as a tribute both to a great scholar and to a zestful rendering ; cp. : *Epic of Gilgsmish*, a New Translation, 1928, pp. 10, 11.

Nor knew he people nor land ; he was clad in a garb like Sumuqan
E'en with gazelles did he pasture on herbage, along with the cattle
Drank he his fill, with the beasts did his heart delight at the water ".

Later he dallied with a courtesan girl who schooled him in " manners and human comfort "

" He (in the past) of the milk of the wild things to suck was accustom'd.
Bread which she set before him he broke ; but he gazed and he stared :
Enkidu bread did not know how to eat, nor had he knowledge
Mead how to quaff !

(Then) the woman made answer, to Enkidu speaking

' Enkidu, taste of the bread, (for) of life 'tis, (forsooth), the essential,
Drink thou, (too), of the mead, 'tis the wonted use of the country '.
Endiku ate of the bread, aye, ate until he was gorged.
Drank of the mead seven bumpers ; his spirits rose, (and), exultant,
Glad was his heart, and cheerful his face : himself(?) was he rubbing,
Oil on the hair of his body anointed : and (thus) became human " ![1]

To go back to a line already quoted from a Sumerian text in connection with man's earliest condition : " mankind, when they were formed(?)." But later in the same text we read that the gods " put life-breath into mankind ". It is tempting, but not necessary, to see here an implication of a notion which, so far as I am aware, has not been remarked by others. First, man was " formed ". Now the Sumerian word used here is *ri*, for which a known Semitic equivalent is *emēdu*, to come together, to be set up, constituted. The word in the later line is *zi-šà-gál*. Semitic *šaḳānu napišta*, i.e. " to put life-breath " into someone, Is the idea that in the life-history of man there were two stages : first, an animal-man existence, and later, a human-man existence due to the addition, by divine action, of the *napištu*, or that which makes man other than mere animals ?

To proceed, the evidence, thus far adduced, amounts to this : man was made by the gods, but the condition of the first man was a sorry one. How then did he rise to those " city-going ways " which we call civilisation ? The late tradition preserved by Berossus will serve here, though it would be possible to cite earlier but disjointed evidence relating to a few particulars of civilisation which the natives assigned to divine beneficence as cause.

[1] Thompson, p. 17.

" At Babylon there was a great resort of people of various nations, who inhabited Chaldaea, and lived in a lawless manner like the beasts of the field.

" In the first year there appeared, from that part of the Erythraean sea which borders upon Babylonia, an animal destitute (? *emend to* endowed with) reason, by name Oannes, whose whole body (according to the account of Apollodorus) was that of a fish ; that under the fish's head he had another head, with feet also below, similar to those of a man, subjoined to the fish's tail. His voice too, and language, was articulate and human ; and a representation of him is preserved even to this day.

" This Being was accustomed to pass the day among men ; but took no food at that season ; and he gave them an insight into letters and sciences, and arts of every kind. He taught them to construct cities, to found temples, to compile laws, to and explained to them the principles of geometrical knowledge. He made them distinguish the seeds of the earth, and showed them how to collect the fruits ; in short, he instructed them in every thing which could tend to soften manners and humanize their lives. From that time, nothing material has been added by way of improvement to his instructions. . . . Moreover, Oannes wrote concerning the generation of mankind ; and of their civil polity." [1]

It would appear that the local tradition represented man as a well-user of things because taught by the gods how to use them. And in this connection it is perhaps worthy of remark that just as the function of things made by the gods was to subserve the use of the gods, so the general attitude of Mesopotamian men towards physical, and even human nature, was that of user towards things for use. There is no evidence that they imagined any other bond or relation between themselves and animals, plants and stones. Certainly nothing comparable to the traditional ancient Indian conception. And perhaps for the obvious reason that the world of their experience revealed no continuity, no con-substantiality. The surrounding lansdcape included fertile, arid and semi-arid land in such proportions that fertility, whether of earth, man

[1] Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, pp. 22-23 ; cp. comments of G. J. Gadd in his *History and Monuments of Ur*, pp. 7 ff.

or beast, must have seemed odd. The area of death far exceeded the area of life, and life must have appeared an accident impossible to account for from within the earth itself. There is nothing to suggest that the ancient Mesopotamian folk had a conception of a soul of the universe, or indeed, of any unity. Even their gods, though arranged hierarchically by theological speculation, are separate deities, and no attempt appears to have been made to devise a formula which could establish them in unity. Even after death, mortals retain their separateness in the great rendevous of mankind.

Of all the works of the gods, human kind was, on earth, the highest. But among humans there were degrees of worth, measured by likeness to deity. Because man was first fashioned wholly of the blood of god(s), or of a mixture of a god's blood and clay, he was said to be an image or counterpart of god. But there were men and men : there was man, and a special kind of man, the king, and an inferior kind of man, the slave. The distinction is expressed in a late saying : " Man is the shadow of god, the slave is the shadow of man, but the king is like unto god ". In what this likeness of king to god consists is not further explained, but early Sumerian royal inscriptions describe the reigning king as specially nurtured by divine persons and endowed with wisdom and strength of this or that god or goddess. Later it was said that like the god, the king possessed the good breath (šāru ṭābu) as a special endowment from the hands of the gods.

All the evidence throughout the centuries of ancient Mesopotamian history shows that the institution of kingship was a ubiquitous and continuous element in the life of the land and essential to it. By the beginning of the second millennium B.C. speculation had invented the formula : Kingship descended from heaven. It has been suggested that a document of later date, known as the Myth of Etana, purports to tell, in story-form, the source and the civilising purpose of kingship. But beyond the details that the story begins with the time when there was not, as yet, on earth, tiara, or crown, or sceptre, for they were still " in heaven before Anu ", and that the goddess Ishtar was " seeking a shepherd ", the Myth of Etana adds little to our knowledge on this matter. More explicit is the statement elsewhere

that " the god Ea created the king to be the maintainer (of shrines ?).[1]

The Mesopotamian belief that kingship was not a human invention but an institution of heavenly origin, has suggested to some the idea that, other sources failing, kingship as it was conceived to function in heaven might throw light on kinship as it functioned among the Mesopotamians on earth. Accordingly, it has recently [2] been suggested that the early kings of ancient Mesopotamia ruled " democratically " and not, as did the later Assyrian kings, autocratically.[3] The evidence adduced will hardly bear the conclusion desired. Early historical documents of the Sumerian age being of no help here, we may find some measure of support for the " democracy " of the ancient society in a text concerning Gilgamesh, ruler of Uruk, who is said to have laid before the city fathers his plan : " Let us not submit to the palace of Kish, but let us smite it with weapons ". and the city-fathers concur with their king's proposal. And later, in the Epic of Gilgamesh, it is said that " Gilgamesh gave ear to the words of his counsellors ". But such evidence is not evidence of " democratic " rule. It need imply no more than an oligarchy which, on occasion, even on every state occasion, took counsel together, in assembly, under the primacy of the king. It does not imply the direct government by the people in assembly which alone is democracy.

If the procedure in the heavenly courts is described after the practice in the earthly courts, then the deliberations of the king and his elders must often have been merry occasions. For in heaven the assembly of the deities was an occasion for a feast. the eating of bread, the quaffing of strong drink in quantity beyond the body's capacity to hold, and music withal.[4] After which the gods proceeded to business. It may be remarked here that neither in heaven nor in earth was there " politics " as we have understood the term since the Greeks. Society in both spheres was static, and controlled by tradition, from which there was no appeal. In earthly states, dogma, in the literal

[1] Text : F. H. Weisbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (Leipzig, 1903), pl. 12, 37.

[2] *JNES.*, vol. ii, 1943, p. 159.

[3] But, Assyrian Kings also were warned, " If (the King) does not heed the wise men, his land shall revolt against him ", cp. *Cun. Inscriptions, W. Asia*, iv, pl. 48.

[4] Cp. *Enūma Eliš*, Tab. III, 130 ff.

sense, reigned. The only question was: what does "seem good" to the gods? And that only the gods themselves knew, and, on occasion, declared it to men through omens, dreams and the like.

Whatever the difference in degrees of worth or of kinds of responsibility amongst men, all were under the same curse, as it was written: "the goddess Ninharsag uttered a curse by the name of the god Enki: when a man dies he shall not see the face of life again".[1] This applied to kings, men and slaves. Already in the third millennium B.C., Sumerian rulers made length of days the burden of their prayers to the gods. In the letters of the old Babylonian period, correspondents wished their friends long life by the gods. To all, at every period, life was the summum bonum, in a land where life was precarious in the literal sense, as contingent upon answer to prayer. The ancient Mesopotamian does not seem ever to have come to terms with the relativity of man and of all life. Only the gods are thought of as being at home in the world which they had made, whereas their mortal creatures know that "The gods when they created mortals, allotted death to man; life they kept for themselves", as the wine-maker said to Gilgamesh, the man who would escape death if he could. Accordingly, Gilgamesh would have done well to heed the advice of the wine-maker.

> Gilgamesh, full be thy belly.
> Each day and night be thou merry (and) daily keep holiday revel.
> Each day and night do thou dance and rejoice; (and) fresh be thy raiment;
> Let thy head be clean washed, bathe thyself in the water;
> Cherish the little one holding thy hand: be thy spouse in thy bosom
> Happy—for this is the dower of man.[2]

From the Sumerian age proper we lack texts which reveal the contemporary beliefs concerning the nature of life after death. But the Sumerian conception of the underworld lived on in the vocabulary which their Semitic successors employed. For the majority of the Semitic Mesopotamian names for the world of the dead are Semiticised forms of Sumerian words. *Arallu*, that lower part of the "mountain of the lands" of which our earth is the upper part: *ekurru*, the house of the mountain: *kigallu*, the great land.

[1] Nippur Text: *En-e-ba-am*, iii, 37-38.
[2] Thompson, *Epic of Gilgamish*, p. 46.

The underworld is vast (irṣitu rapaštu): it is a steppe land (sēru), a ruin (ḫarbu), devastation (namu), a house of dust (bīt ipri), a prison house (bīt mēsiri), for the dead men, the men below. It is a world subject to its own deities, served by a hierarchy of functionaries. And from it there is no return.[1]

We are not, as yet, able to describe life down there in any detail. Perhaps the ancient living themselves wrote little of it. That it was a fearsome existence is conveyed in the twelfth tablet of the Epic of Gilgamesh. The dead Enkidu is permitted by Nergal, the god of the underworld, to return to earth, and is there questioned by his friend Gilgamesh.

> Tell, O my friend, tell, o my friend, tell me—
> What thou hast seen of the laws of the underworld?

To whom Enkidu answers:

> I will not tell thee, I will not tell thee—(for) were I to tell thee
> What I have seen of the laws of the underworld—sit thee down weeping.
> (Then) let me sit me down weeping. [2]

But were all the dead treated alike in the world below? Was there no distinction of lot, no discrimination? In the Epic of Gilgamesh, Enkidu reports that down there some were "at rest upon a couch". More illuminating is a Sumerian text which says: "The just enjoy their rest(?), the wicked are cast into the deep abyss", for, as the same text has it, the queen of the kingdom of the dead avers: "I have in my hand the breath of life; the good man shall have enjoyment, the wicked shall not escape from my power".

We get more information from a report of a dream on an eighth century text. A king in his dream goes down to hell. The god of pestilence, Namtar, is there, having a sword in his right hand. And Mu-u-(tu), the divine personification of death, having the head and hands of a man, but the feet of a serpent. Other monsters also. And, of course, the Lord of All, Nergal, enthroned, armed, and wearing the royal tiara. About him are his court of six-hundred great gods, prostrate to his right and to his left. The dreamer dreams that Nergal questions him, and

[1] Cp. Knut Tallquist, *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt*, Leipzig, 1934.

[2] Thompson, p. 59.

that he is befriended by Ishum, the fire deity, counsellor of Nergal, and life-saver and lover of justice. His appeal to his lord: "Do not bring death upon the man, O King of the Earth" (i.e. of the Underworld), is granted. Nergal informs the dreamer: "Because thou hast not neglected me, I will not give sentence of perdition". And he goes on to point out that the fate of kings after death is decided by their deeds during life. After hearing Nergal's command: "Go back to the high places" (the upper-world), the dreamer awakes.[1]

To end: it is clear that from the scattered evidence, in myth, legend, and ritual, we can frame the substance of ancient Mesopotamian answers to the classic catechism questions such as: Who made you? Why did God make you? To whose image and likeness did God make you? Is this likeness in your body or in your soul? What must I do to save my soul? How must I worship God?

The burden of it all? Perhaps this:

> Considerate la vostra semenza;
> Fatti non foste a viver come bruti,
> Ma per seguir virtute e conoscenza.[2]

But what would the ancient Mesopotamian have meant by such words of Catechism or of Dante by which we moderns translate the ancient texts?

[1] Cp. E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, S. 1-9; *von Soden*; *ZA.*, 1936, April, S. 1-31.
[2] Dante, *Inferno*, xxvi, 118.

LE STYLE DE VILLEHARDOUIN DANS LES DISCOURS DE SA CHRONIQUE

By JEAN FRAPPIER

PROFESSOR OF MEDIÆVAL FRENCH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF STRASBOURG

EN étudiant ailleurs [1] les discours dans la chronique de Villehardouin [2]—discours peu nombreux et presque tous fort brefs— nous avons essayé de déterminer quel rôle ils jouent par rapport à la narration en ce qui concerne la méthode d'exposition et la composition générale de l'oeuvre ; nous voulons examiner maintenant dans quelle mesure ils appartiennent au style oratoire.

Il peut paraître paradoxal de songer à découvrir des intentions littéraires dans des textes d'une telle brièveté ou plutôt d'une telle sécheresse ; mais, en réalité, la première question qui se pose, à notre avis, consiste à se demander si cette sécheresse n'est pas elle-même un fait d'ordre littéraire ou tout au moins une conséquence de la parole écrite.

Il est impossible en effet que les discours réellement prononcés se soient réduits à une telle exiguïté, il est impossible que ces ambassadeurs, ces conducteurs d'hommes, un manieur de foules comme le doge, aient parlé dans leurs conseils ou leurs harangues avec un dédain aussi évident de l'abondance oratoire ; on ne convainc pas, en n'entraîne pas avec une pareille économie de mots. On a beau avoir la haine de la prolixité, Villehardouin lui-même, de vive voix, n'usait certainement pas de cette concision si rigoureuse.

Il est juste, nous semble-t-il, de l'attribuer pour une part à un désir de clarté, à la volonté d'éliminer l'accessoire au profit de l'essentiel. Ce sacrifice du détail est en somme la marque d'une véritable intelligence d'historien, qui domine les faits et

[1] *Etudes romanes dédiées à Mario Roques*, Paris, E. Droz, 1946, p. 39-55, *Les discours dans la chronique de Villehardouin.*

[2] Nous utilisons, pour nos références et nos citations, l'édition d'Edmond Faral : VILLEHARDOUIN, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, Paris, Les Belles-Lettres, Collection des *Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age*, t. I, 1938, t. II, 1939.

les saisit dans leur perspective. Que les discours réels aient été ramenés à leurs lignes générales, et comme à la netteté d'une épure, voilà qui peut bien être porté au crédit de Villehardouin chroniqueur et déjà historien.

Mais le mépris des vaines paroles ou la hauteur des vues ne suffisent pas, on s'en doute, à expliquer cette sécheresse ; Sainte-Beuve, qui a été intrigué par elle, en a décelé, je crois, la raison profonde, avec son habituelle sûreté de diagnostic, dans l'étude qu'il a consacrée à Villehardouin.[1] Selon lui, cette déperdition d'énergie entre l'éloquence naturelle et sa translation écrite caractérise les littératures naissantes ou les auteurs encore primitifs. Il convient de le citer :

> Et qu'on me permette ici une réflexion générale qui s'applique à cette époque et à beaucoup d'autres : il y a, dans les divers états de la société et aux divers degrés de la civilisation, des facultés nécessaires et des talents qui, répandus par la nature sur certains hommes, diffèrent beaucoup moins qu'on ne suppose de ces mêmes talents, développés à des époques en apparence plus favorisées. Ainsi la poésie, ainsi l'éloquence, sont des dons naturels qui, du temps de Villehardouin et de Quènes de Béthune, n'étaient pas moins réels ni de près, peut-être, moins frappants qu'ils ne le seront à des âges de société plus en vue. Villehardouin, par exemple, pour nous en tenir à lui, possédait à un haut degré le don de la parole . . . Pourtant, plume en main (si tant est que lui-même il tint la plume), ou en se disant qu'il allait dicter et composer, il était quelque peu gêné dans l'expression de ses pensées. . . . Rappelons-nous . . ., en lisant ces vieux auteurs peu accoutumés aux lettres et à ce mode d'expression par l'écriture, que nous n'avons que des signes incomplets de leur force même d'esprit et de leurs ressources en ce genre. La parole est une faculté qui, à toutes les époques, et dans un degré éminent, est donnée naturellement à quelques-uns : c'est entre la parole *parlée* et cette même parole *écrite* que la plus grande différence a lieu et qu'il se fait un naufrage de bien des pensées.

Explication perspicace dont il ne s'agit pas de contester la justesse, et encore moins la finesse d'expression ; peut-être a-t-elle besoin cependant, si cette remarque n'est pas impertinente, d'être à la fois élargie et précisée. Elargie, car Sainte-Beuve soulève dans cette page un problème permanent du style, l'un des plus difficiles à résoudre, celui des rapports complexes et subtils qui peuvent exister entre le style oral et le style écrit : ce problème se pose en réalité, bien qu'à des degrés divers, pour une foule d'auteurs de toutes les époques, et il est susceptible de

[1] *Causeries du Lundi*, t. IX (Paris, Garnier, 3ème édition), p. 384-85.

solutions diverses selon les familles d'esprits ou de talents. Certains écrivains réussissent à conserver dans leur phrase le rythme du jaillissement verbal ; d'autres compensent son tarissement par l'écriture en procédant à une transposition et en passant, si l'on peut dire, du plan auditif sur un plan visuel et plus intellectuel. Entreprise dont la difficulté était évidemment plus aiguë au temps de Villehardouin qu'à l'époque du classicisme.

Mais au début du XIIIème siècle d'autres éléments entraient en jeu que Sainte-Beuve a omis de signaler : le mode d'expression et la langue elle-même. Alors la chronique en prose commençait tout juste à remplacer la chronique versifiée, qui elle-même concurrençait depuis une cinquantaine d'années la chronique écrite en latin. Or, si l'on examine l'oeuvre des devanciers de Villehardouin et surtout les discours fictifs que ces clercs rédigeaient à tête reposée, on constate sans peine que la rhétorique, au XIIème siècle, avait envahi le genre historique ou pseudo-historique. Nous devons nous contenter de quelques exemples, mais ils seront probants. Quel rhéteur brillant—à coup sûr plus rhéteur qu'historien—apparaît Geoffroy de Monmouth dans son *Historia regum Britanniae !* Ce n'est pas lui qu'on pourrait accuser de sécheresse oratoire ; les harangues et les lettres de ses personnages, tous doués d'éloquence, sont fabriquées avec toutes les recettes de l'école. " L'élévation du ton,—écrit à ce propos Edmond Faral—la majesté des phrases, la noble abstraction des termes, un cliquetis savant de mots : c'est la recherche évidente du grand genre . . . Arthur, Hoel, Angusel, dans leurs discours, comme Lucius Hiberius dans sa lettre, usent de calcul, balancent leurs périodes, puisent dans le répertoire des figures de pensées et de mots avec l'habileté de rhéteurs consommés." [1] Tout n'est sans doute pas à dédaigner dans ces discours artificiels, mais que de passages ampoulés et d'une verbosité irritante ? [2]

[1] *La légende arthurienne* (Paris, Champion, 1929), t. II, p. 283.

[2] Comme à la fin du chapitre 169 (discours d'Arthur à ses " commilitones ") : " Quantos honores quisque vestrum possidebit, si voluntati meae atque praeceptis meis, ut fideles commilitones, adquieveritis ! Subjugatis etenim ipsis, continuo Romam petetis, petitam capiemus, captam autem possidebimus, et sic aurum, argentum, palatia, turres, oppida, civitates et ceteras victorum divitias habebitis." (*Ibid.*, t. III, p. 265-266).

Si nous passons de la prose latine au vers français, nous rencontrons tout naturellement Wace et sa chronique romancée du *Brut* où il transpose l'oeuvre de Geoffroy de Monmouth ; et de nouveau on ne peut qu'être frappé par le nombre et l'étendue des discours. Wace a même tendance à renchérir sur son modèle latin, car il allonge complaisamment la matière oratoire fournie par *l'Historia regum Britanniae*. Il est vrai qu'il use d'un style plus vif et plus naturel que Geoffroy, plus coupé aussi ; il n'ignore point cependant certains procédés, et il les prodigue non sans monotonie : répétitions de mots, énumérations, antithèses, anaphores, chiasmes, proverbes et maximes. Pour donner des exemples, on n'a que l'embarras du choix : le mieux est sans doute de se reporter à cette longue suite oratoire que constitue le conseil tenu par Arthur et ses barons, à la suite duquel il relève le défi lancé par l'empereur de Rome. Dans ces copieuses harangues, Wace témoigne d'une verve incontestable en exécutant des variations sur des lieux communs hérités, à travers Geoffroy, de la rhétorique antique.[1]

Ce n'est pas dans l'énorme *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, de Benoît, oeuvre qui compte 42,310 vers, qu'on trouvera moins de faconde ; elle est véritablement farcie de discours, longs pour la plupart d'une centaine d'octosyllabes, et d'une quarantaine au moins. Tous les personnages s'y montrent fort diserts, et en particulier ce duc Richard qui adresse aux Danois, pour les convertir, un sermon de plus de cinq cents vers [2] où il leur expose les vérités de christianisme : un véritable cours d'enseignement religieux, qui n'est pas dénué d'une certaine virtuosité littéraire ! D'ailleurs, la phrase oratoire de Benoît est plus étoffée, d'un rythme plus ample que celle de Wace, et visiblement calquée sur le latin, l'auteur soulignant lui-même, dans un passage intéressant qui précède le sermon du duc Richard, ce sermon

[1] *Le Roman de Brut*, édité par I. Arnold (S. A. T. F.), t. II, 1940 : discours des ambassadeurs romains (v. 10, 639-10, 710) ; discours de Cador (v. 10, 737-10, 764) ; discours de Walvein (Gauvain) (v. 10, 765-10, 772) ; long discours d'Arthur (v. 10, 779-10, 904) ; discours de Hoel (v. 10, 910-10, 954) ; discours d'Angusel (v. 10, 958-11, 040).

[2] Edition Francisque Michel (Paris, Imprimerie Royale, t. I, 1836 ; t. II, 1838 ; t. III, 1844), t. II, v. 23, 754-24, 320.

" digne de saint Jérôme et de saint Paul " (v. 23, 640), combien il lui paraît périlleux de prétendre à l'éloquence en *roman*.[1]

Cette luxuriance oratoire de la chronique latine en prose [2] et de la chronique française en vers contraste avec l'extrême brièveté des discours dans la *Conquête de Constantinople :* une telle opposition s'explique sans doute par des causes d'ordre psychologique, par toutes les différences qui peuvent exister entre des clercs et un homme d'action. Mais il faut certainement tenir compte aussi, en ce qui concerne Villehardouin, d'une raison technique, l'emploi de la prose française, encore à ses débuts : moins rompue que le vers aux artifices de la rhétorique, ou plutôt simple instrument de clarté, expression nue et directe de l'idée, elle s'avère cependant très vite capable de se hausser jusqu'à une certaine éloquence, mais une éloquence dépouillée de surcharge et d'ornement. Dans la plupart des oeuvres en prose de la première moitié du XIIIème siècle, qu'il s'agisse d'histoire ou de romans, de la *Conquête de Constantinople* et des *Faits des Romains*,[3] ou de la *Queste del Saint Graal* et de la *Mort le roi Arthur*, les discours se distinguent en général par leur netteté et leur sobriété, par l'absence ou la rareté des digressions, et par beaucoup de retenue dans l'emploi des figures de rhétorique.

[1] Si me fiasse tant en mei
E je m'en osasse entremetre,
Ce qu'en truis escrit en la letre
En retraisisse cherement ;
Mais li latins dit e comprent
Od sume, od glose, ce m'est vis,
Où romanz ne pot estre mis,
Choses multes ; por ce m'est grief ; – – –
(*Ibid.*, v. 23, 644-23, 651).

[2] Suger, écrivant en latin la *Vie de Louis VI le Gros* (vers 1144), sacrifie beaucoup moins à la pompe oratoire ; à vrai dire, le discours prononcé par l'archevêque de Trèves, messager de l'empereur Henri V, à Châlons (mai 1107), devant le pape Pascal II, à propos de la querelle des investitures, est, bien que refait lui aussi, un véritable discours historique, et non plus un discours romanesque. Il est cependant plus orné que ceux de Villehardouin. (Cf. *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, édition H. Waquet (*Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age*, Paris, Chempion, 1929), chap. X, p. 57-59).

[3] Remarquons cependant que dans *Li Fet des Romains* les discours sont assez copieux et que, tout en restant d'un style vif et spontané, ils se ressentent de l'enseignement de l'école ; il est vrai que des modèles antiques soutiennent l'effort de l'auteur.

Somme toute, le goût ou l'habitude de la parole pleine et brève, comportant souvent le risque de la sécheresse, n'est pas un privilège du seul Villehardouin, mais un caractère général de la prose à l'époque où il compose son ouvrage, encore que chez lui l'austérité du style marque surtout la fermeté de son propos et la volonté de ne pas dévier. Il reste à savoir si cette volonté annihilait en lui tout souci d'ordre littéraire ; peut-on affirmer notamment que les discours de sa chronique sont dénués d'art et de quelque recherche oratoire ?

Sans doute, dans ce domaine du style, notre récolte ne sera pas très abondante, et il est certain qu'il faut scruter attentivement le texte pour découvrir certaines finesses. Pourtant Villehardouin me paraît avoir été un peu plus écrivain qu'on ne le dit d'ordinaire. Dans l'article que nous avons déjà cité, Sainte-Beuve protestait contre le jugement de l'historien byzantin Nicétas pour qui les Croisés étaient des gens " étrangers aux Muses et n'ayant aucun commerce avec les Grâces " ; et, rappelant la présence parmi les pélerins d'un poète comme Conon de Béthune, du troubadour Raimbaud de Vaqueiras,[1] il déclarait : " La poésie, comme l'histoire, à voir les choses simplement, elle était plutôt à cette heure du côté des Croisés que des Byzantins, malgré toutes leurs divinités et leurs Aréthuses—la poésie, et j'entends par là la véritable, à la fois le souffle, l'inspiration, la fleur et déjà l'art de l'expression, et aussi l'artifice du rythme." [2] Est-il possible qu'en compagnie de poètes raffinés et soucieux du bien-dire—et nous savons sûrement qu'il avait des relations personnelles avec Conon de Béthune, ce compagnon d'ambassade dont il a loué l'éloquence—Villehardouin soit resté tout à fait indifférent, pour son propre compte, à la beauté de l'expression ?

Sa qualité la plus évidente—réduite parfois jusqu'à la sécheresse d'un plan et comme à la charpente du discours—est l'ordonnance de la composition, le don d'éclairer l'essentiel et les lignes marquantes ; qualité commune, d'ailleurs, à la narration et au discours, signe de clarté intellectuelle dont il n'y a pas

[1] Il y avait aussi parmi eux le mélancolique Châtelain de Couci qui mourut pendant la traversée et fut immergé dans la mer grecque : cf. *Conquête de Constantinople*, § 124.

[2] *Causeries du Lundi*, t. IX (édition citée), p. 410, n. 1.

lieu de parler longuement. Villehardouin sait présenter les circonstances et les arguments dans un ordre logique, exposer nettement les divers éléments d'une situation et préciser les décisions prises ou à prendre : de ce talent toutes les harangues de son livre fournissent la preuve. Signalons qu'au moins une fois cette architecture oratoire—en général trop saillante et trop raide à notre gré—produit un effet brillant, dans la réponse [1] que Conon de Béthune, avec une insolence calculée, construit de façon symétrique au message de Nicolas Roux.

Si, malgré leur caractère trop souvent schématique, les discours de Villehardouin sont animés d'un certain mouvement, c'est surtout par l'ordre interne des idées, et fort peu grâce à l'emploi de procédés oratoires ; de son temps il existait cependant un art de rhétorique, qui était aussi un art poétique, et des théoriciens croyaient pouvoir capter l'éloquence et la poésie dans un réseau de règles et de recettes.[2] Mais cette rhétorique, Villehardouin l'ignorait ou, en tout cas, la dédaignait ; on ne trouve même pas dans ses discours un seul exemple de la figure dialectique la plus simple de toutes, c'est-à-dire l'interrogation. Quant aux tournures exclamatives, elles y sont certainement bien plus rares que dans la narration. Parfois il use de la *sententia*, termine par exemple le beau discours du doge sur le ravitaillement par une maxime destinée à frapper l'esprit,[3] mais sa *prudhomie* explique assez son goût pour les proverbes et les sentences sans qu'il soit besoin d'invoquer l'influence des traités de rhétorique. Dans les cas les plus heureux—il s'agit évidemment des deux discours prononcés par Conon de Béthune—l'austérité de la forme donne au style une concision nerveuse, un grain serré, une sorte d'atticisme, est-on tenté de dire, qui contient la fougue sans la briser.

De fait, ce commencement d'art oratoire, tout personnel, et plus fréquent dans les passages pathétiques ou les défis que dans les discours d'affaires, se manifeste surtout par le rythme de la phrase ; le redoublement sans nul doute conscient de termes

[1] § 144.

[2] Je renvoie à l'ouvrage classique d'Edmond FARAL, *Les Arts Poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècles*, Paris, Champion, 1924.

[3] " Quar plus seürement guerroie cil qui a la vïande que cil qui n'en a point." (§ 131.)

presque synonymes étoffe l'expression et lui imprime une cadence binaire, comme dans le message adressé par les Croisés au doge :

> Sire, nos somes a toi venu de par les hals barons de France qui ont pris le sine de la crois *por la honte Jesu Crist vengier et por Jerusalem conquerre*, se Diex le vuelt soffrir. Et por ce que il sevent que nulle genz n'ont si grant pooir *con vos et la vostre gent*, vos prient por Dieu que vos aiez pitié *de la terre d'oltremer et de la honte Jesu Crist*, coment il puissent avoir *navie et estoire*.[1]

Remarquons qu'à la légère redondance oratoire des passages mis en italique s'ajoute une recherche visible de la symétrie, en raison de la longueur à peu près égale de chacun des éléments composants. Ce rythme binaire et équilibré reparaît ailleurs, dans le discours de Nicolas Roux, au § 143 (" . . . et mult se mervoille *por quoi ne a quoi* vos iestes venu *en sa terre ne en son regne* . . . Se vos iestes *povres ne disetels*, il vos donra volentiers *de ses vïandes et de son avoir* . . ."), dans la réplique de Conon, au § 144 (" . . . Bels sire, vos nos avez dit que vostre sires se merveille mult por quoi *nostre seigneur et nostre baron* sont entré *en son regne ne en sa terre. En son regne ne en sa terre* il ne sont mie entré : quar il le tient *a tort et a pechié contre Dieu et contre raison* . . .") et encore dans son second discours, aux §§ 213-214 (" Sire, nos somes a toi venu *de par les barons de l'ost et de par le duc de Venise*. Et saches tu que il te reprovent le servise que il t'ont fait *con la gent sevent et cum il est apparissant* . . . ; et se vos nel faites, sachiez que, des hore en avant, il ne vos tienent *ne por seignor ne por ami* . . .").

Ce rythme pair qui donne déjà une certaine ampleur à la phrase semble avoir eu la préférence de Villehardouin, encore qu'il s'en soit servi avec discrétion ; mais il lui arrive aussi, plus rarement, d'adopter un rythme ternaire, chargé de solennité :

> . . . Por ce que vos alez *por Dieu et por droit et por justise*. . . . (§ 92).

> . . . et bien set que vos iestes meü *por la sainte terre d'oltremer et por la sainte croiz et por le sepulcre rescore*. (§ 143).

A côté de ces étoffements du rythme il convient de signaler ses brisures, et surtout la superbe asyndète adversative, combinée élégamment avec un chiasme,[2] et déjà citée, où Conon de Béthune relève le défi lancé aux Croisés par Alexis III :

[1] § 18.

[2] Autre emploi assez caractéristique de chiasme au § 146 : . . . que il li a *les els traiz et tolu son empire* a tort et a pechié.

Bels sire, vos nos avez dit que vostre sires se merveille moult por quoi nostre seigneur et nostre baron sont entré en son regne ne en sa terre. En son regne ne en sa terre il ne sont mie entré. . . . (§ 144).

Soyons sûrs qu'ici Villehardouin a réussi à garder le rythme de la parole vivante et que la brusquerie du tour rend à merveille tout ce qu'il y avait d'abrupt dans le caractère et le langage de Conon, habile du reste, comme l'ensemble de sa réplique le prouve, à nuancer le ton de son insolence et à passer aisément de l'enjouement ironique (*Bels sire* . . .) au fier dédain et à la menace acerbe. Son second discours (§§ 213-214) fournirait d'autres exemples, mais moins nets et moins saisissants, d'oppositions tranchantes et de rythmes coupés.

Avons-nous épuisé avec les remarques précédentes toute l'originalité du style oratoire de Villehardouin ? Il semble que la construction de la phrase et l'ordre des mots dans la proposition nous réservent encore quelques faits dignes d'attention. D'abord on peut affirmer que, par rapport à la narration où les phrases coordonnées ou juxtaposées sont de beaucoup les plus nombreuses, la syntaxe des discours marque un progrès de la subordination : au style alerte, mais souvent haché du récit, se substitue une construction plus organique, une répartition hiérarchisée et assez bien équilibrée des propositions subordonnées autour de la principale, comme dans la phrase suivante :

Et por ce que il sevent que nulle genz n'ont si grant pooir con vos et la vostre gent, vos prient por Dieu que vos aiez pitié de la terre d'oltremer et de la honte Jesu Crist, coment il puissent avoir navie et estoire. (§ 18).

Autre exemple, emprunté au second discours de Conon de Béthune, où la phrase se décompose aisément en " membres " qui s'articulent bien les uns avec les autres et esquissent en somme une période :

Se vos le faites, mult lor ert bel ; et se vos nel faites, sachiez que, des hore en avant, il ne vos tienent ne por seignor ne por ami, ainz porchaceront que il avront le leur en totes les menieres que il poront (§ 214).[1]

Il est naturel que la syntaxe prenne un aspect plus intellectuel

[1] Signalons encore la phrase suivante où l'effet obtenu par l'équilibre oratoire est très net : " Et si vos fera / la plus haute convenance qui onques fust faite a gent (15 syllables) / et la plus riche aïe a la terre d'oltremer conquerre (15 syllables) " (§ 92).

et plus logique dans le discours ; mais comme ce dernier reproduit dans une mesure plus ou moins forte le rythme et les inflexions du style oral, on doit s'attendre aussi à rencontrer dans une *syntaxe oratoire* des faits qui comportent une valeur affective. A cet égard, après une enquête minutieuse, que j'ai menée à travers la chronique de Villehardouin, sur l'ordre des mots dans la proposition, je crois qu'il convient d'attacher une certaine importance, à la fois d'ordre affectif et littéraire, à l'inversion du participe passé ou de l'attribut par rapport à l'auxiliaire ou au verbe, l'ordre exceptionnel *participe passé* (*attribut*) + *auxiliaire* (*verbe*) se substituant à l'ordre habituel *auxiliaire* (*verbe*) + *participe passé* (*attribut*).[1] Cette dernière construction est bien la construction courante dans la chronique de Villehardouin comme chez les autres prosateurs de son temps, car s'il est exact qu'en ancien français le participe passé reste assez indépendant de l'auxiliaire et s'écarte volontiers de lui,[2] sa liberté de déplacement est surtout frappante dans les textes en vers, tandis que les premiers textes en prose adoptent déjà comme normal l'ordre moderne. On est ainsi conduit à considérer que dans la syntaxe des poètes la position antérieure du participe passé est uniquement ou surtout commandée par des raisons de versification et qu'au contraire dans celle des prosateurs elle représente une rupture de la construction habituelle et correspond probablement à une intention stylistique.

Notons que chez Villehardouin l'ordre *participe* + *auxiliaire* se rencontre à la fois dans la narration et les discours, mais il est proportionnellement plus fréquent dans ces derniers ; d'autre part il convient de ne retenir comme probants que les exemples qui figurent dans les propositions principales, car dans les subordonnées, et notamment les relatives, la postériorité de l'auxiliaire est un fait de grammaire plutôt que de style et doit être regardé comme un effet de la tendance qui consiste à rejeter le verbe en

[1] Les autres faits concernant l'ordre des mots dans la proposition, et notamment la place des compléments par rapport à l'auxiliaire et au participe ou par rapport à l'auxiliaire de mode et à l'infinitif, offrent un intérêt d'ordre grammatical, mais me paraissent dépourvus de toute portée littéraire.

[2] Cf. L. FOULET, *Petite Syntaxe de l'Ancien français*, 3e édition, § 113. L'auteur, nous semble-t-il, aurait dû distinguer nettement entre l'usage de la prose et celui de la poésie.

position finale.[1] Voici donc les passages où nous relevons la construction qui nous intéresse en lui accordant une valeur littéraire, d'une part dans les discours, d'autre part dans la narration :

DISCOURS.—I—" Li rois de Ungrie si nos tost Jadres en Esclavonie, qui est unes des plus forz citez del munde ; ne ja, por pooir que nos aïons, *recovree ne sera*, se par ceste genz non." (Discours du doge, § 63).

II.—" Seignor, *acompaignié estes* alla meillor gent du monde et por le plus halt afaire que onques genz entrepreïssent. Et je sui vialz hom et febles, et avroie mestier de repos ; et *maaigniez sui* de mon cors." (Discours du doge, § 65).

III.—" Seignor, je sui emperere par Dieu et par vos, et *fait m'avés* le plus halt servise que onque gens feïssent mais a nul home crestien." (Discours d'Alexis IV, § 194).

IV.—" *Semont vos en ont* maintes foiz, et nos vos en semonons, voiant toz vos barons, de par als. . . ." (Discours de Conon de Béthune, § 214.)

V.—" . . . et s'en ala assez de la gent, que cil remestrent si poi que, se Diex nes aüst sostenuz, que *pardue fust la terre.*" (Discours *collectif* des *prud'hommes de l'armée* avant l'élection de l'empereur franc, § 257).

Ce dernier exemple nous paraît caractéristique lui aussi, bien qu'il soit emprunté à une proposition subordonnée.[2]

NARRATION.—VI.—" *Enterrez fu* delez son pere au mostier de monsegnor saint Estiene a Troies." (§ 37).

VII.—" *Porchaciez fu* li passages par l'ost " (§ 58).

VIII.—(à propos du doge) " . . . car *viels hom ere*, et si avoit les iaulç en la teste biaus et si n'en veoit gote, que *perdue avoit* la veüe par une plaie qu'il ot el chief " (§ 67).[3]

IX.—" *Grant fu* la guerre entre les Frans et les Grex " (§ 226).

X.—" *Assemblez fu* li avoirs et li gaains " (§ 254).

Il va de soi que nous n'attribuons pas à ces divers exemples la même importance ni la même valeur : dans tous l'effet obtenu

[1] Cf. L. FOULET, *op. cit.*, §§ 462-64. Voici quelques exemples empruntés à Villehardouin : " Ensi vint a un parlement asSoissons *qui nomez fu* . . ." (§ 43) ; " . . . ge, *qui vostre sire sui* " (§ 65) ; " Li termes vint *si com devisez fu* " (§ 155) ; " Et l'empereres Alexis lor dona tant, *que fait fu* " (§ 199) ; " . . . *si com ordené ere* (§ 237) ; " . . . et tant i sistrent *que renduz fu* " (§ 330) ; " Lors issi Johannis de Blakie a totes ses hoz et a grant ost de Cumains *qui venu li erent* " (§ 461).

[2] De même que cet autre qui figure dans une phrase au style indirect : " . . . si retornerent a als et lor distrent que *perduz ert* li empereres Baudouins . . . " (§ 370).

[3] L' expression et le tour reparaissent ailleurs comme une formule épique ou une sorte de *leitmotiv* : " Lors vint Henris Dandole, qui ere dux de Venise ; mais *vielz hom ere* et gote ne veoit " (§ 351). " . . . le duc de Venise . . ., qui *viels hom ere* et gote ne veoit." (§ 364).

par le renvoi en avant du participe ou de l'adjectif est de mettre en vedette ce participe ou cet adjectif. (On sait que dans la langue d'aujourd'hui, ce tour est encore possible avec l'adjectif (cf. ex. IX), mais non avec le participe). Toutefois cette valeur commune nous paraît s'atténuer ou s'accentuer suivant les cas, et c'est justement cette différence de degré qui mérite surtout notre attention : il est évident que l'effet perd de son intensité à l'intérieur d'une phrase, comme pour les exemples I et III où l'inversion de l'auxiliaire est peut-être commandée en fin de compte par de subtiles raisons de rythme ou ne constitue guère qu'une élégance de style, le rappel fugitif d'une construction poétique. En revanche hautement significative se révèle la présence du participe en tête de la phrase, du moins pour les exemples empruntés aux discours, car l'intention réelle nous demeure assez problématique, nous devons l'avouer, en ce qui concerne les exemples VI, VII, X, qui appartiennent à la narration. On sent bien la vigueur de l'accent, l'insistance du ton et du même coup l'exaltation de l'idée ou de la volonté dans le " *acompaignié* estes " du doge (exemple II) et surtout dans cet explosif " *semont* vos en ont " de Conon de Béthune (exemple IV) où est condensée toute l'énergie de son tempérament et de sa harangue, l'absence du pronom sujet, courante dans ce tour, renforçant encore le relief expressif du verbe.[1] Tout autre, il est vrai, et presque opposé, est l'effet obtenu par la même construction dans l'exemple V et surtout dans les passages où est évoquée l'infirmité du doge (fin de l'exemple II, " et *maaigniez sui* de mon cors " ; exemple VIII). Là le participe n'est plus placé abruptement au début de la phrase, et la rupture de l'ordre habituel nous paraît sans doute aucun correspondre, sur le plan de la syntaxe, au sentiment de tristesse ou d'admiration émue que traduisent déjà les mots du texte ; elle n'est plus vibration de la volonté ou de la violence, mais inflexion pathétique de la voix et du style.[2]

[1] Sans parler du martelage des syllabes : " Sem*ont* vos en *ont* maintes foiz, et nos vos en semon*ons* . . . "

[2] Cette construction reste encore, selon nous, un fait de syntaxe affective et sert à moduler l'expression du regret et de la désolation dans ces vers de Villon :

Allé s'en est (le temps de sa jeunesse), et je demeure . . . (*Testament*, v. 177).

Tollu m'as la haulte franchise . . . (*ibid.*, v. 461) (apostrophe de la belle Heaulmière à la vieillesse).

Tels sont les faits, rares sans doute, et peu voyants, mais non négligeables, qui nous inclinent à reconnaître une intention d'art dans les discours de la *Conquête de Constantinople*.[1]

Dès la *Chanson de Roland*, le caractère oratoire de la littérature française est bien manifeste : qu'on songe à la place que tiennent dans la plus belle de nos chansons de geste les conseils et les délibérations, les harangues du roi Marsile, de Charlemagne, de leurs barons, et les répliques ardentes échangées au plus fort de l'action ! Certes le vieux poète n'entendait pas déprécier Ganelon en lui accordant un grand talent de parole.[2] Ce goût de l'éloquence s'accuse, parfois jusqu'á l'excès et l'usage mécanique des recettes de l'école, dans les romans et les ouvrages pseudo-historiques de la seconde moitié du XII[e] siècle. Or, avec Villehardouin, cette tendance s'atténue singulièrement et d'une façon presque paradoxale ; la réalité lui fournissait pourtant la matière même des discours que contient sa chronique, une réalité dont il avait été un témoin immédiat, et, plus encore, un artisan, par ses paroles comme par ses actes. De cette

[1] Une dernière remarque : on relève à plusieurs reprises dans ces discours le brusque passage de *tu* à *vous*. On sait que cette alternance est fréquente en ancien français et qu'elle est en général considérée comme une bizarrerie déconcertante (cf. L. FOULET, *op. cit.*, § 289). J, ai déjà quelque peu réagi contre ce point de vue dans mon *Etude sur La Mort le Roi Artu* (p. 395-397), et l'usage de Villehardouin me paraît de nature à confirmer mon opinion : le tutoiement est, chez lui aussi, en rapport avec la solennité des circonstances ou l'expression d'une émotion violente, d'une requête pathétique ou pressante. C'est ainsi qu'au § 18 les commissaires des Croisés tutoient d'abord le doge pour lui annoncer la croisade entreprise par les hauts barons de France : " Sire, nos somes a toi venu . . ." ; à la phrase suivante ils lui disent *vous* en précisant la raison matérielle de leur arrivée à Venise. En même temps que du *tu* au *vous*, on est passé, en quelque sorte, du plan mystique au plan politique. Si au § 213 Conon de Béthune commence par tutoyer Alexis IV, c'est à notre avis pour donner immédiatement tout le poids nécessaire au défi lancé par les Croisés, car l'insolence n'est pas moindre dans la suite du discours où l'empereur est vouvoyé. De même, au § 187, le tutoiement initial employé par Villehardouin en s'adressant à l'empereur Sursac contribue à la gravité du ton, lorsqu'il s'agit de rappeler la loyauté des Croisés. Ailleurs encore le *tu* traduit l'instance de la prière (§§ 38, 277) ou du conseil (§ 71).

[2] Par grant saver cumencet a parler
Cume celui ki ben faire le set . . . (édition J. BÉDIER, Paris, H. Piazza, v. 426-427).

retenue d'éloquence nous avons essayé de discerner les causes : elles nous sont apparues diverses, et certaines dépassent la personnalité de l'auteur ; nous pensons toutefois que dans cette brièveté, qui contraste avec l'abondance oratoire de l'épopée et du roman,[1] il faut moins voir le mépris ou l'impuissance du style—car Villehardouin se révèle capable de deux ou trois réussites d'ordre littéraire, à la limite extrême où la concision n'est pas encore la sécheresse—qu'un succès remporté par l'histoire sur la rhétorique.

[1] L'article d'A. KRESSNER, *Ueber den epischen Charakter der Sprache Ville-Hardouins*, dans l'*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, t. LVII (1877), p. 1-16, ne renferme aucune indication vraiment utile pour le sujet de la présente étude.

PERSONALITY IN ITS CULTURAL CONTEXT.[1]

By T. H. PEAR, M.A., B.Sc.
PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

A YEAR ago, in a John Rylands lecture, I described some recent American work which had illuminated the culture-pattern theory, and suggested a few of its implications for psychology. To-day I will expound these more fully and try to arrange them into a pattern. Borrowings from others are more extensive than usual, since during the last seven years we in England have not been able to obtain American publications freely. The purpose of the present lecture is to introduce you to new realms of thought which otherwise might be relatively inaccessible.

American psychologists and ethnologists are convinced that the study of Culture and Personality is so significant that it ought to be recognised as a subject for itself. One obviously important aspect of it is the relation of a personality to the culture in which it is born, grows up and lives.

In earlier lectures of this series I have discussed parts of this problem and have given reasons for accepting, for work purposes, the definitions (below) of Personality and Character respectively :

Personality.—The effect upon others of a living being's appearance, behaviour, etc., so far as they are interpreted as distinctive signs of that being. (A person may be aware or unaware of these signs.)

Character.—The comparatively stable structure of the mind and body, wrought by the integration of habits, skills, attitudes and sentiments into a relative unity.

What Allport calls Personality, will here be termed the Self. If this definition is borne in mind, there should be little difficulty of interpretation, though many writers use Personality for both.

It is unfortunately necessary to remind ourselves that all the words in the title of this lecture call for definitions, which can never be as exact or elegant as in the physical sciences. Now, a glance at even a small dictionary will convince us that several meanings can properly be given to ' culture ', yet a psychologist may be more interested in the answer to " What constitutes a

[1] Amplified from notes of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, on the 13th March, 1946.

cultured person ? " than to " What is culture ? " It is profitable to take a long-distance view of the working concepts of culture, which different investigators in the field of anthropology, economics, history and psychology have built up, and in no spirit of patronage or amused donnishness to compare them with those alleged to be held by that elusive gentleman, the ' average man '.

This useful piece of work has been done by Drs. Clyde Kluckhohn and William H. Kelly in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*[1] in an imaginary symposium between such specialists and a business man, who is American, but probably differs in no essential way from an English one. Knowing the risk of being contradicted by readers who will object " That is not what *I* mean by culture " (all writers on Personality soon get used to such treatment) I venture to expound briefly the different views, with full acknowledgments to the two authors.

The most inclusive is the anthropologist's concept of culture. To him a kitchen sink is as much a cultural product as a Beethoven sonata, a Benares tray made in Birmingham or even a swing quartet by Django Reinhardt.

It is as well that the social psychologist should recognise the reasonableness of this concept, which if enunciated will protect him from infuriated critics of modern painting or music. Yet since he if is a good social psychologist, he will be interested in semantics and sensitive to current popular meanings of words, as well as to their technical and dictionary definitions, he will respect the business man's remark that in his wife's eyes a cultured person is " one who can talk about Debussy, T. S. Eliot, Picasso and those people ". The husband in his turn would perhaps regard as cultured anyone who can distinguish between the business methods of an old-established, respected firm, of an up-and-coming, reckless team of youngsters, and of a bucket-shop, and could explain the mysteries of Bretton Woods to him in simple language. A profound knowledge of economics was one of the many signs of culture in the late Lord Keynes.

For the anthropologist, the expression " a culture " refers to the distinctive ways of life of a group of people who have learned

[1] C. Kluckhohn and W. H. Kelly, " The Concept of Culture," in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. by R. Linton, 1944, Columbia University Press.

to work together (a ' society '). Both ' society ' and ' culture ', it should be noted, are not first-hand recordings of actual observations, but conceptual constructs. When I first saw young German army officers enter a restaurant, I made a first-hand observation. Knowing almost nothing of the militaristic culture into which their public behaviour fitted so perfectly, I was astonished. I had no concept with which to interpret these events, but it soon developed. Some returned prisoners of war are embarrassed by their inability to interpret such ' natural ' growths of our culture as coupons, Brains Trusts and the ITMA programme. Ruth Benedict writes: " Culture is that which binds us together ". This is certainly a function of the last two items on this list.

Some American psychologists define culture as ' social habits '. Perhaps from this side of the Atlantic it might be suggested that ' habit ' is too all-inclusive a term and is an unnecessary blanket. If ' habit ' is to include attitudes, sentiments and complexes, one might agree. The proviso should then be added, that all these are socially valued.

Another description of culture is " traditional ways of solving problems ". Yet cultures create as well as solve problems; e.g. a belief in ghosts begets problems connected with going out at night; years ago, organisers of lectures in our city learned not to choose Thursday nights preempted by the great Sir Charles Halle. Freud, of course, has discussed this in *Civilisation and its Discontents*, though his view of culture is more criticised to-day than when he wrote.

One school of psychiatrists views culture as something repressive to the ' natural ' man. Culture, they say, moulding individuals in ways uncongenial to their native temperament, produces needless neuroses. This, Kluckhohn and Kelly argue, seems a half-truth; culture both fulfils and frustrates. Indeed, much of the correct ' psychology of frustration ' seems based upon dicta concerning Man's primitive natural needs, laid down once and for all (and between two world wars) by the brilliant, untravelled Sigmund Freud, and challenged nowadays by writers like A. Kardiner.[1]

[1] A. Kardiner, chapter in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, 1944, and *The Individual and His Society*, 1939, chapters 2, 9, 10.

Some economists view culture as 'social heredity'; this phrase usefully emphasises that man inherits not only a body, externally shaped and internally organised as the results of events in his racial past, but also a social framework. Though when properly interpreted this concept is useful, it may easily impute too great stability and too passive a role to man, who is incessantly creating and manipulating culture. Ortega y Gasset defines culture as that which is *sought*.

Not all culture is adaptive, in the sense that it promotes sheer physical survival. At times it even does the opposite, for most groups elaborate certain features of their culture far beyond relative utility or survival-value. In our own society, the cult of 'toughness' (naturally extolled during thirty years which have seen two destructive wars) may have gone too far, since it seems perhaps to be bound up with a taboo upon tenderness.[1] As a result, we get Polar exploration and superlative heroism in war, but also, especially in the unwarlike, a widespread interest in crime, 'thrillers', films, plays and novels dealing with physical and mental cruelty. The cult of the curiosity which helped man to triumph over animals and inanimate Nature has now gone so far that curiosity has been reified, and deified, as Science. Yet when Science and Toughness marry, ugly types of offspring are produced; e.g. the 'scientific' and 'medical' human vivisections at Belsen and Buchenwald, and the holocaust of Hiroshima.

To the concept of biological *adaptation*—a long range process—we should add that of *adjustment*, i.e. behaviour which produces temporary lowering of tensions. Why do we (if not English, or if English, during a war) speak to strangers in railway compartments? Because it lowers tension. Adjustment and biological adaptation may be closely related, but not always. Wearing a black tie with a white evening waistcoat, though not biologically dangerous, may be socially disapproved.

Like any other concept, that of culture may be descriptive or explanatory. The above are examples of descriptive concepts. An explanatory concept may be put into words like these: "Culture consists of those historically created selective processes which channel men's reactions to external and internal stimuli."

[1] I. Suttie, *The Origins of Love and Hate*, Kegan Paul.

Why to 'internal stimuli?' Because even physiological laws are not independent of culture: consider that crassly physiological fact, hunger. Were not the English described by Americans before 1939 as the people who ate five square meals a day? Whether a healthy adult tends to feel hungry twice, thrice or four times a day, and even the hours at which these feelings tend to recur; all these are determined by culture. So, as we have now discovered, may be the things we eat and like. Aversion to milk will be overcome by a man faced with starvation. Americans have been known to vomit on being told that they had eaten rattlesnake meat which, as it happens, is highly nutritious. Though weeping and fainting may seem to be purely physiological events; when, where, how and in whose company one may weep or faint may be determined and conditioned by culture. The postponement of sea-sickness, even its frustration, when one is carrying out responsible duties, attempting to set an example, or ashamed to show weakness before a respected person, is an action of which readers may justifiably be proud.

Nothing could be a starker biological fact than age, yet it is always socially defined. In some culture-patterns, the individual dislikes old age, in others he looks forward to it as the time of privilege, in still others again, he may feel painfully unable to prophesy his future. Assurance of 'social security' means the world to him.

Though a psychologist is likely to regard the culture of the individual as extremely important, 'Culture' is supra-individual; objects as well as persons show its influence. Moreover, its continuity never depends entirely upon the continued existence of any particular individual.

A 'social dimension' is an important aspect of cultured change. People transplanted from a slum to a large new housing estate, may find (especially if no longer young) that the 'improved' pattern of human adjustment does not seem altogether an improvement. They may need the social group at the street-corner or in the 'pub', while young children do not.

Used as a descriptive concept, Culture means "the documented treasury of human creation, books, paintings, buildings, knowledge of ways of adjusting to our surroundings, both human

and physical, language, custom, systems of etiquette, ethics, religion and morals built up through the ages ".

For the participant in it, much of his culture is 'unverbalised', i.e. it has never been thought of by him in words, through which he can express to himself or to others its essentials or peculiarities.

Dr. Kluckhohn's working concept of culture is "all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of man". Such a 'design for living' denotes both 'theory' and 'practice', i.e. both 'sanctioned' and 'behavioural' culture-patterns: This concept implies a distinction between *explicit* and *implicit* culture.[1]

In the perpetuating of cultural organisations, particularly at the implicit level, an important factor is the culturally prescribed system of child training.[2, 3] Adults who, during the process of becoming socialised, have been subjected to similar deprivations and frustrations tend to see life in similar terms and even to believe that these prohibitions are due to fundamental psychological laws.

Of what use, it may be asked, is a concept of culture? Kluckhohn and Kelly answer along these lines:

(1) *It helps man to understand himself and his own behaviour.* Man, when civilised, has a capacity for self-judgment, and this is exercised oftener than, if he desires mental peace, he might wish. He may, for example, face guilt or shame at the performing or remembering of a certain act which, had it been carried out by another type of person, would he thinks, have caused less shame —or perhaps more. Where does this sense come from? Obviously in part from early parental teaching and conditioning, which can be very different in various countries, ages and social strata. The concepts of culture and culture-pattern help in understanding this variety.

(2) *It helps towards predicting human behaviour.* "A culture is not only a reticulum of patterned means for satisfying needs, but equally a network of stylised goals for individual and group

[1] Cf. T. H. Pear, "Psychological Implications of the Culture-Pattern Theory," BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, vol. 29, 1945.

[2] Kimball Young, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 1946, Kegan Paul.

[3] O. Klineberg, *Social Psychology*, 1940, chapter 18.

achievement ". Even the ' primary ' drives, such as hunger and sex, are subtly modified and channelled by culture, but for every human being there exist secondary drives: Professor Gordon W. Allport's ' transformed autonomous motives '.[1] The ' needs ' of sophisticated people for decorative clothes, automobiles, or radios are obviously cultural, yet may be very strong.

Until recently, I was satisfied with the original title of this lecture. " The Cultural Background of Personality ". This state of mind was intensified on discovering and reading with enjoyment, Professor Ralph Linton's relatively recent book with this very name.[2] Yet it is possible to ask whether there may be a better word than ' background ' to express the relation apprehended between a personality and the culture in which it has grown up. The connection seems to be a visual one (though Gestalt psychologists, of course also use *Figur* and *Grund* to describe auditory and tactual patterns apprehended against their settings.) One thinks of pictorial art, and so almost inevitably, of Leonardo da Vinci's Mona Lisa and Walter Pater's " Here is the head upon which ' all the ends of the world are come ' and the eyelids are a little weary. She is older than the rocks among which she sits . . . "

In the Paterian sense, it may be held that a personality is properly apprehended so far as this act involves acquaintance with the spatial, temporal and cultural backgrounds in which it grew up and in relation to which it is judged. Perhaps we English are, or at least were, apt to underestimate the importance of a spatial background or at least to assume its centre to be naturally and inevitably Greenwich. English people who might have felt slight surprise, as I own I did once, when an American friend wrote " We came to Europe this summer but couldn't fit England in this time " may forget that in those happy days, the American playground called Europe was conceivable without our country. Concerning a modern Chinese author, an American reviewer wrote " To him Europe may seem just a perpetually turbulent cape away to the west of his continent ". Until 1914, many English did not take space very seriously: Americans had to.

[1] G. W. Allport, *Personality*, Constable.

[2] R. Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, Kegan Paul.

But we regarded past time as excessively important : as Professor Stephen Leacock wrote, the most valuable effect of an education at an Oxford college is the experience of sleeping in the ivy. And this perhaps, is a partial explanation of certain differences between American and English personalities and characters.

The influence between a personality and its cultural background is mutual and incessant. The behaviour of troops in a foreign country is usually quite unrepresentative of their conduct as civilians at home,[1] yet if it is widespread and lasts long, the cultural background of their nation (in the eyes of the ' foreigner ') may be affected for many years.

The analogy with a musical background is in some ways closer. A concerto not only displays the prowess of the soloist but gives his instrument a setting or context. While we see a person or object against a background, this phrase suggesting a certain degree of perceived differences, we may hear a piano in a context, which may be apprehended fully or partially, depending upon the perceiver. And so I venture to retitle this lecture " Personality in its Cultural Context ". Support for this might perhaps be obtained from Professor Robert S. Lynd's chapter " The Concept of Culture "[2] where he writes :

> Description and analysis on the level of institutions and culture tempt us to accept culture as a self-contained universe ; culture becomes another reified entity, like prices, social classes, money, society, the state . . . over against this going cultural ' system ' is set the world of individual persons. . . . Beginning with the useful discrimination between the culture . . . and the person, we then proceed, by imperceptible shifts in emphasis, to treat culture as something apart from the persons who live by it ; next we slide over into the acceptance of culture as independent of the persons who live by it ; and then we are tempted to move on to acceptance, overt or tacit, of cultural determinism, viewing culture as a self-contained force, operating by inner laws of its own to coerce and shape people to its ends. . . . But the trouble comes for the social scientist when . . . he forgets that these useful conceptual discriminations are only true to a certain extent, as methodological tools—when he begins to accept them neat, without qualification. . . . What appears to be needed is a recovery of persons-in-culture by social science. . . . The emphasis upon *persons* as the active carriers, perpetuators and movers of culture (resolves) the dualism of ' culture and the person ' and (places) the primary emphasis where it basically belongs ; upon people.
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> Only as the too-inner drama of Freudianism and the too-external drama of

[1] Cf. Margaret Mead, *The American Troops and the British Community*, London, Hutchinson.

[2] *Knowledge for What ?* 1939, London, Humphrey Milford.

Marxism can meet and reinforce each other on the common ground of the behaviour of persons-in-culture can either make its greatest contribution to a workable theory of cultural change.

The precise significance of personality and culture is that it is not an additional field for study but that *it is the field of all the social sciences.*

So perhaps ' cultural context ' is a better expression. Let us take some examples, the first from sport. English Association football has built itself up as a definite culture sub-pattern, in a context, social, geographical, ethnological, even economic, at least sixty years old.[1] Any one " soccer personality ' can be judged only against such a background, and an outstanding but deviant personality might do much to change it violently or imperceptibly. Yet recently, when the Russian ' Dynamo ' team visited England, amusement, bewilderment and annoyance were caused in both countries by the Russian refusal to take some of our conventions for granted. Cricketers will remember the difference of opinion about ' body-line bowling ' which at the time did little to sweeten the relations between Australian batsmen and English bowlers.

Marechal Pétain, through his long life [2] represented a culture into which he fitted perfectly without apparently attempting to modify it. Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler moulded cultures to fit themselves, yet neither died at the hands of the Allies.

To appreciate, judge or estimate a personality in his or her cultural context may once have been easier than it is to-day, since few personalities were widely known (in the modern sense of ' wide ') and their judges were often themselves soaked intensely or sunk deeply in their context. Now, accidentally or deliberately, the press, stage, film, radio and television set up prototypes and stereotypes.[3] J. B. Priestley once remarked how in a tea shop in Boston (Lincs) he saw young men whose faces might easily have been those of their Scandinavian ancestors, accompanying young women recognisable as quite good copies of various film stars of the day. For years, a similar process has been going on in the realm of speech—some English people stick to their

[1] R. W. Pickford, *British Journal of Psychology*, 1940, vol. 31.

[2] Janet Flanner, *Petain, the Old Man of France* (Simon and Silvester).

[3] T. H. Pear, *Voice and Personality*, 1931, Chapman and Hall.

geographical and social accents, others modify them as unapologetically and overtly as they would have their hair waved, and are blamed or praised by those whose personalities remain relatively constant.

Few travelled Englishmen or women on meeting a stranger recognised as English, will not ' place ' the newcomer, geographically and socially, by that complex fused pattern of expressive behaviour, inadequately termed accent.[1] And though in our socially stratified country it is seldom specifically mentioned, appearance of body and face, poise, manners and speech often convey, subtly or spectacularly, signs which are taken to prove ' breeding '.

In a valuable detailed examination of the relation of Personality to Culture, Clyde Kluckhohn and O. H. Mowrer wrote :

> Just as some investigators have neglected certain determinants, so also have certain investigators remained unaware of the manifold nature of personality and have confused one or two components with the whole personality. We follow May [2] in assuming that the parameters of a personality may be defined by a human organism's effects upon others. All attempts to describe an individual ' as he really is ' must be regarded as extra-scientific unless they are firmly based upon the regularities in the stimulus value which this individual has *for others*. The only way an observer can ' know ' other personalities is by noting and making inferences from their social stimulus value—whether in casual social relationships, in controlled interviews, or as manifested in more refined experimental situations such as those provided by the various projective techniques. A subject's own statement of his needs, motives, etc. will normally constitute an important part of the data but can never be taken at their face value without critical evaluation—they must always be interpreted in terms of the reactions of one or more observers. The definition of personality as social stimulus value seems to us one which will permit relatively objective operations.

They assert that a theory of personality must explain :

(a) *The fact that ultimately each personality is unique.*

This, we may add, for two reasons, first, as Ralph Linton says, in every one of us is a residue of individuality which survives after society and culture have done their utmost. Secondly, our (personality or) self is uniquely structured, through and through. A human being speaks, walks, loves in idiosyncratic ways distinguishable by observers acquainted with many variants from his pattern.

[1] T. H. Pear, *The Psychology of Effective Speaking*, 1933, Kegan Paul.

[2] M. A. May, " A Comprehensive Plan for Measuring Personality," *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Psychology*, 1930, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.

(b) *The observed fact of personality types.*

This perhaps begs a question, for some psychologists do not regard the concept of types as valuable, and others take the opposite view (cf. for example, C. G. Jung [1] and Gordon W. Allport [2]). Yet most of us subscribe implicitly to the theory of types when we describe a friend—or enemy.

(c) *The theory must accommodate five generalisations*:

(1) All human beings have certain personality traits in common. These may be called *universal* traits, and their antecedents *universal* determinants.

(2) The members of any given society tend to share more personality traits with each other than with the members of other societies. These are *communal* traits; their antecedents *communal* determinants.

(3) Within a society, the behaviour characterising certain groups shows some constancies. The 'social stimulus value' of those who are playing the same role has a common quality. This is called the *role* component and its antecedents *role* determinants.

(4) The members of any given society, even if playing similar roles, differ among themselves in social stimulus value. Their distinctive and relatively unique traits are called *idiosyncratic*, and their antecedents *idiosyncratic* determinants.

(5) Certain similarities, other than those common to all humanity, may be observed in the social stimulus value of individuals from different societies, even when the personality manifestations for those societies vary widely. Since idiosyncratic determinants are not 'society-bounded', no special designation for such similarities is needed.

We may also distinguish *biological* determinants, and three aspects of environmental determinants: physical, social and cultural. An excellent diagram of this two-way system of classification, giving sixteen 'cells', appears on page 4 of this article by Kluckhohn and Mowrer.

Here are illustrative examples. *Biological* factors may be common to a given society. If certain types of endocrine

[1] C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, Kegan Paul.
[2] G. W. Allport, *Personality*, Constable.

imbalance are unusually frequent, the personalities of the members of that society will have distinctive qualities.[1]

Little is known about the effects upon personality of communal circumstances in the impersonal environment. The authors ask " Does living in continually rainy weather make for different social stimulus value from living in a sunny, arid country? " This seems almost a challenge to an inhabitant of Manchester, but I will not accept it here; merely remarking that Manchester's friendliness (often noted by those who have come to live here from another district, but I fear not so easily discerned by the transient visitor) might be in part a result of cultivating indoor domestic pleasures, and of neglecting the public amenities (cafes, restaurants, theatres, etc.) in the city itself. But this is a complex subject. If we were to have a town of cafes with tables in the sun we might not necessarily do any more at those tables than to entertain our own family or friends or sit there alone. Our authors ask:

> What are the differential effects of living in a walled-in mountain valley, on a flat plain, or upon a high plateau studded with wind-sculptured red buttes? Thus far we can only speculate, for we lack controlled data. The effects of climate [2] and even of topography may be considerable, although they have hardly been rigorously explored.

The location of a population as well as its size and density is a determining factor; as town planners find when at some distance from a city a new satellite town is formed, especially if its inhabitants come from the city's poorer and older parts.

Though biological factors may determine basically *how* man learns, culture very largely determines what he learns and how he shall be taught; also who shall do the teaching. Again, in every society the organism is differently socialised according to sex and age, though where these lines are drawn and what variations in behaviour are anticipated differs in different cultures.

Culture, it has been said, ' screens ' man's whole perception of the physical world. It acts as a set of lenses with certain distortions, through which acculturated human beings view the

[1] O. Klineberg, *Race Differences*, 1935, Harper and Brothers.
[2] C. A. Mills, *American Anthropologist*, 42, 1-14.

whole world, including other people and themselves. As A. I. Hallowell writes : [1]

> The physical objects of the environment only enter the reality-order of the human population as a function of specific culture patterns. It is the knowledge and technological level of the culture of a people that determines their natural resources, not the mere presence of physical objects. To people without a tradition of pottery-making the presence of clay in their habitat is no more a natural resource than was the presence of coal and iron in the habitat of the pre-Columbian Indians of eastern North America.

Though the physical world is assumed to be constant for each individual, we all perceive it in detail in our own way. Compare driving oneself with being driven by a trusted friend through dense traffic.

It should be noted that many forces of social interaction, which influence personality formation are not culturally prescribed. As Margaret Mead [2] points out, all children (except multiple births) are born at different points in the life careers of the parents, which means, psychologically speaking, that they have somewhat different parents.

Anthropologists call attention to the sparsity of universal cultural determinants of personality. But a few universals are left.

There are, of course, fashions in personality which vary in time and space.[3] Moreover there are 'ideal personalities,' as Linton calls them, not to be confused with psychological types. The stage, the screen and our humorous papers seem to give a clearer idea of university professors than can be gained by living amongst them.

There are even age and sex personalities—c.f. the young and the old doctor, the man and woman lawyer. Radio executives may often be puzzled whether to ask a woman to take part in a discussion because of her anticipated unique contribution to knowledge or because she is expected to present the " woman's angle ".

[1] A. I. Hallowell, *Handbook of Psychological Leads for Ethnological Field Workers*, (Mimeographed).

[2] M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, Penguin Series.

[3] J. Laver, *Taste and Fashion from the French Revolution until To-day*, 1937, Harrap.

Perhaps enough has been said to prove that every personality-trait if it is to be evaluated, must be considered in its cultural context. Let us consider, in the light of this statement, the themes of a few chapters from books upon Personality.

Almost certainly we judge other people's personalities largely in terms of clothes and speech, though interest in these becomes less as one approaches complete social equality. It is curious that books on Personality pay comparatively little attention to speaking, though an ' impersonation ' nearly always draws heavily on the person's speech. The present writer has discussed a few aspects of this subject with regard to personality and to social stratification,[1] and therefore only a few points will be summarised here, more particularly as they are relevant to cultural context.

Voice must be distinguished from speech. In this country it is hardly necessary to call attention to the difference between the words emitted by a speaker, as they would appear if printed, from the ' message ' which his voice transmits ; one which can vary for different hearers. A constant problem for the British Broadcasting Corporation is to ensure that the news bulletins are read in a tone of voice which, while interesting and lively, is not a vehicle of comment. Once, during the Spanish Civil War, by mere manipulation of (probably) pace and intonation, an announcer appeared to convey the idea that inverted commas had been vocally placed before and after the word ' volunteers ', every time it was used.

In England, much more perhaps now than elsewhere, speech differences are interpreted as outstanding signs of personality. There are differences in quality of voice, of intonation, pace, stress and speech melody, affectations, slang, as well as characteristic variations due to geographical location and social status. The last-named two factors are often mutually dependent to an extent which to discuss is often viewed as bad taste. And in some other countries, as Brobury Pierce Ellis writes : [2] " Fortunately for the unity of the U.S.A., there is no vast difference between the speech of the educated and the less educated ".

[1] T. H. Pear, " Psychological Aspects of English Social Stratification," BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Manchester, vol. 26, 1942.

[2] B. P. Ellis, " Standards in American Speech," *Saturday Review of Literature*, vol. 29, No. 22, June 1, 1946.

There are also stereotypes and protypes of speech. It is possible in an English radio play to indicate certain professions by a manner of speaking. Three clergymen who all speak fairly often on the radio, do so in voices the resemblance between which is almost certainly not accidental.

We must not forget, however, that speakers are usually seen. So gesture (or lack of it), posture and facial expression help to make up a great deal of what is popularly termed the way in which a person speaks.

It is not without significance to note that discussions of the relation between speech and personality arouse less interest in relatively new and socially unstratified countries than here, for reasons which some think good, some bad.

We pass now to the problem of linguistic individuality, investigated by Fillmore H. Sanford.[1] Language, as he says, comes in units; there are phonemes, morphemes, syllables, words, phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraphs. These can be examined, analysed, classified, quantified.

Sample of oral speech were employed by him. Two subjects, called in his records Chatwell and Merritt, were chosen from a group. After arranging that they should get used to the conditions, they were asked to respond orally to various pre-arranged stimuli, their utterances being picked up by a concealed microphone and recorded phonographically.

The experimental session, conducted in a room of non-technical appearance, was informal throughout. The experimenter, through an introductory period of free conversation, attempted to make the subject feel at home. All instructions were given orally.

With each subject there were two experimental sessions, occurring exactly a week apart. The initial session proceeded as follows: (1) the subject was presented, one at a time, with prints of five paintings by well-known artists and asked to comment freely, giving his own impressions and reactions; (2) each subject described a designated scene, familiar to both subjects; (3) each subject was given a stimulus-card containing a "text-island" of three words and asked to create a narrative around these words or around the ideas the words suggested. At least three stories, each starting from a different text-island, were obtained from each speaker; (4) the subjects created at least two narratives involving text-islands of ten words.

Samples were also taken from their oral autobiographies.

[1] F. H. Sanford, "Speech and Personality," *Character and Personality*, vol. X, 1942, pp. 169-198.

The phonograph records were transcribed verbatim into typewritten form, so that the speech could be carefully inspected and analysed. The data pertaining to speech of performance were taken directly from the records after the reproducing device had been synchronised with the recording instrument.

Merritt's style was summarised as :

complex, perseverative, thorough, unco-ordinated, cautious, static, highly definitive, and stimulus-bound. If we go one step further towards synthesis and generalisation, we might conceive of his whole style as defensive and deferent. Most of his verbal behaviour seems to reflect a desire to avoid blame or disapproval. He is cautious and indirect, rarely making a simple or bald statement. Once he makes a judgment he explains it and presents all aspects of it, leaving little to the auditor's imagination and little for the auditor to question. His concern for the adequacy of every response results in a re-examination of the response and this, in turn, brings about roughness in his discourse. His disinclination to venture out "on his own ' makes him feel more comfortable in the stimulus-bound situations.

Chatwell's was in definite contrast :

In his verbal behaviour Chatwell is colourful, varied, emphatic, direct, active, progressing always in a forward direction. His responses are well co-ordinated closely interconnected, more evaluative than definitive, and somewhat enumerative. He covers extensive areas, verbally, and is disinclined to consider details of precision of reference. His speech is confident, definite, independent. In general he appears to use speech not so much to describe the external world and its relations as to express his own individuality and to impress the auditor.

Finally, it need scarcely be emphasised that to judge speech as a sign of personality one must know, and well, the cultural context of the speech and the speaker. It is easy in one's own country, or perhaps it might be said more correctly in one's own district, to recognise that a speaker is ' putting on side ', speaking, successfully or unsuccessfully, in a way which is characteristic of a superior or inferior social stratum, disguising or dropping a geographical accent, using complex or simple language. But these judgments become more difficult if the sample listened to is derived from a context removed from the judge in space. Perhaps even in time ; older people use locutions and accents which were correct when they were young and often resent the " innovations ' which are really now current. Some middle-aged English can even bring themselves to say " O.K." ·

I need hardly do more than to remind you of the importance, when judging a personality, of knowing something of the social background against which he is heard and seen. In a previous

lecture in this series,[1] and in articles arising out of it, this question has been discussed in detail. To anyone who served in the fighting forces in the last war, there is no need to lay any stress on the social stratification both of clothes and speech. And even battle-dress, that greatest of all sartorial levellers, usually included a badge of rank, so that an English field-marshal dressed in this egalitarian way and speaking in public—at least to civilians—seemed and sounded as much an officer as before.

I have described elsewhere [2] at some length the parallels between speaking and clothing. Both are acquired under social influence ; and after early years, are modified or not, depending upon the individual's mental make-up, his social surroundings and the sub-culture-pattern (people from certain English counties seldom drop their accent even after living for many years in another locality). Both are signs of locality, role, social stratum, sex ; even, in England, of wealth, since one result of becoming rich, at least in the last half-century, is for children to have been sent to schools of a higher social level than those attended by their parents. Both are stylised for certain functions, e.g. war. The speech of the R.A.F.—at least of some of its ranks—has been made deliberately distinctive, and this has grown up in a very short time. Both can be decorative or starkly functional.

Since ' persona ' originally meant a mask, there is no need to urge that personality and clothing are closely connected. As Professor J. C. Flugel [3] points out, man, a social animal, soon learns to react delicately to the behaviour of his fellows. Their faces and their hands naturally evoke his alert attention, but apart from them, in our ordinary civilised life, he must perforce attend to their clothes—and indeed when approaching a possible friend or enemy it is to these that his recognition is directed.

Clearly then, clothes show personality in its cultural context. To be ' properly ' dressed for a situation takes up much of a man's and even more of a woman's time in ordinary middle and upper class life. As I write (July 10th, 1946) the newspapers report

[1] T. H. Pear, " Psychological Aspects of English Social Stratification ", BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Manchester, vol. 26, 1942.

[2] T. H. Pear, *The Psychology of Effective Speaking*, 1933, Kegan Paul.

[3] J. C. Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, 1930, Hogarth Press.

that the Lord Chamberlain has forbidden hatless women to attend a Royal garden party. And out of working hours, when, until lately, the most inappropriate clothing has often been worn, and not always on the score of economy,[1] the poorer citizen also fits himself or herself into his real or imagined cultural context.

The reasons for clothing as given by the anthropologists (modesty, decoration, protection) are all relevant to the question of personality and culture. The first two need little or no elaboration here. But the amount, nature and location of clothing worn to protect the body is interesting—a matter of fashion (cf. the appearance of women and men on a cold wet day in a city), of social stratum (university students may be seen wearing long mufflers on a hot day, though the fashion is weakening), of religion (cf. the clothing of monk or nun) and of reason or rationalisation (the protective clothing worn by troops through the ages is always a matter for discussion and argument).

The use of clothing to 'extend the bodily self' (cf. the policeman's helmet, the top hat, the flowing skirt, clerical and academic robes) has been well discussed by Flugel and the vagaries of fashion by James Laver [2], [3] and Kimball Young.[4] Laver touches wittily upon the relation down the ages, between the emancipation, fancied or real, of women, the amount of clothes they wear (and of politeness shown to men), the ages of prudery and romanticism, the invalidism and sentimentalism of the Romantics, the rise of the bourgeoisie and perhaps most interesting, the tendency to laugh at, or be slightly ashamed of, the kinds of clothes we wore ten years ago, while desiring or admiring the type which is about a century old.

Recently Laver [5] has suggested that the most useful classification of modern clothing is into functional, hierarchical, useful and sexually attractive. He supports his views by a variety of evidence.

The clothes worn by an aviator, ski-runner or soldier in

[1] T. H. Pear, *The Psychology of Effective Speaking*, 1933, Kegan Paul.

[2] J. Laver, *Taste and Fashion from the French Revolution Until To-day*, 1937, Harrap.

[3] J. Laver, Pilot Papers.

[4] Kimball Young, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 1946, Kegan Paul.

[5] J. Laver, Pilot Papers.

battle (the last two have obvious resemblances) are usually subordinated in cut, colour and material to the demands of utility. Hierarchial values are but faintly, if at all, indicated by them.

Hierarchical clothes need no particular comment except that before 1939 it was usually easy to tell a young Englishman's social status from his clothes, and harder to tell his sister's. Whether large firms ever deliberately cut cheaper clothes, or shoes, for men, in the ' wrong ' style is a question which if asked might break a taboo.

It is clear, if we study the difficulties experienced in factories during the war, of getting women to wear safe clothing which was unattractive,[1] and the frequent success with which women in ' men's ' army uniform managed to look more feminine than before, that the conflict between utility and attractiveness is incessant. But it seems certain that women do not wear pretty clothes merely to attract the opposite sex. Laver sees an interesting clash in the future between these sartorial functions.

As Gordon W. Allport has illustrated in a special section of his book Personality,[2] one of the most obvious signs of personality is *style*, and here the argument of the theme of this lecture needs no elaboration. A person's style of dress, speech, manners, work, play, must always be judged in its cultural context. Even wit and humour have no absolute values but can be out of place or well timed and appropriate.

There may even be culture-patterns which have brought specialisation to such a pitch that its members are content to leave both wit and humour to highly paid purveyors of it, recognisable because labelled. It is not irrelevant here to speculate upon the extent to which ignorance of a cultural context may result in biased judgment of a personality. This is tragically shown in many international misunderstandings. One remedy (not a panacea) is to make travel, both physical and mental, easier and more fashionable to produce more sympathy with people whose culture-pattern differs from ours, yet who hold views and ideals which we believe desirable.

[1] A. G. Mezerik, *Harper's*, 1943, vol. 187, pp. 289-297.

[2] G. W. Allport, *Personality*, Constable.

To-day there is no time to speak of other important approaches to the problems of personality in its cultural context. Several of these techniques are expounded in detail in *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science* by Gordon W. Allport, and *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology*, by Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Robert Angell.[1] Examination of autobiographies, questionnaires, diaries and letters, artistic and ' projective ' documents is already illuminating this subject. Here we see ' arts ' and science approaching each other once more. This will warm the heart of several psychologists who during the last decade have regretfully watched them drifting apart.

This lecture may fittingly be dedicated to the oft-quoted examinee who, asked for an essay on the manners and customs of a certain remote tribe, wrote " Their customs are beastly and they haven't any manners ". By now he may be an old man, but still perhaps young enough to realise how the modern study of personality and character might have helped him.

[1] Bulletins 49 (1942) and 53 (1945) of the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, 17.

THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES: A MYSTERY PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL

By EDWARD ROBERTSON, M.A., D.LITT., D.D.[1]

THE period of the Judges is a key period in the history of Israel. The fluctuating struggles, which characterised the insettling of the tribes in their promised home, seemed to have died down in an uneasy peace, and the neighbouring nations were individually bringing spasmodic pressure to bear on their new, and as yet unorganised, neighbours. This, at least, is the picture which seems to be presented to us, and the Book of Judges tells us of the manner in which the tribes reacted to the new dangers.

The Book of Judges, whilst it presents many points of interest, even to the uncritical reader, provides many problems for the Old Testament scholar, and invites much speculation. It is an amalgam of unrelated tales or legends. They are each encased in a literary framework, formed of stereotyped and recurrent formulæ, which holds them together. The formulæ modern scholars associate with a Deuteronomic redactor. The framework is given in its fullest form with the mention of the first judge, Othniel, and is thereafter repeated, but in an abridged and even attenuated form, with the other judges. The full formulation is as follows: 'And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord and forgot the Lord, their God, and served the Baalim and the Asheroth. Therefore the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Cushan-Rishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim, and the Children of Israel served Cushan-Rishathaim eight years. And when the Children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised up a saviour to the Children of Israel who saved them, even Othniel, the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother. And the spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he judged Israel; and he went out to war and the Lord delivered Cushan-Rishathaim into his hand, and his hand prevailed against

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th April, 1946.

Cushan-Rishathaim. And the land had rest forty years.'[1] The events follow each other in orderly and logical succession in a fitting religious sequence—apostasy, divine anger, punishment, repentance, appearance of a deliverer, deliverance, period of rest for the land. Then the same cycle of happenings is repeated with a new enemy and a new deliverer.

We are not concerned here with much that makes the Book of Judges interesting to scholars. Thus we are not at the moment concerned with the origins of the legends of the judges, nor with their compositeness, nor their connection with one or other of the main documents of the Pentateuch. Nor yet are we concerned with the artificiality of much of the structure of the book. Thus we are not at the present interested in their being the significant number, twelve, of judges, and of their being six ' major ' and six ' minor '. Nor does the chronological scheme which has been interwoven, in which the number forty plays a conspicuous part, excite our attention for the time being ; nor yet the thinly-veiled attempt to distribute the judges evenly over the tribes and to make national heroes out of seemingly tribal and local ones.

Yet the period of the judges, with all due allowance made for the distracting and disturbing account given of it in the book, is perhaps the most significant in the history of Israel. This is due not so much to what it tells us as to what it does not tell. It was observed long ago that the high-priest seems unaccountably to have vanished from the scene in the account given of this period, and at a time, too, when his services were particularly needed. The only mention of a priest in Judges comes in connection with the idolatrous Micah in one of the two supplementary legends at the end of the book, which, however, have no connection with the judges. The absence of any professional and organised priesthood seems evident, also, from the fact that in the book laymen are depicted as offering sacrifice, and that too, not at a recognised sanctuary, but where they chanced to be. Wellhausen stressed this point, so material for his theory : " In the kernel of the Book of Judges there nowhere occurs a single individual whose profession is to take charge of the cultus.

[1] Judges iii, 7-11.

Sacrifice is in two instances offered by Gideon and Manoah, but in neither case is a priest held to be necessary." [1] This lack of evidence for a developed cultus, coupled with the conviction that if it had been in existence its presence could hardly have been concealed, has been of the utmost importance in shaping Old Testament criticism. It is one of the main pillars of the modern critical theory which dominates the interpretation of the Old Testament. The logical development of the theory from this fact is obvious. No organised priesthood in Judges implied to the shapers of the theory that the cultus could only have been in a very rudimentary stage of development. It carried on directly from the patriarchal age, which equally was devoid of a priesthood and all it implied. In the Book of Deuteronomy, so it is argued, whilst you have as yet no distinct mention of a high-priest, the priesthood seems to be emerging from the chrysalis stage, and Levites and priests are, in effect, synonymous terms. With Ezekiel you get distinctions of grading in the priesthood by the degradation of a class of priests. Therefore, it is maintained that Deuteronomy must be the first book of the Pentateuch to have been written, and the full development of the cultus was to be expected after the time of Ezekiel. Hence when the complete Torah was brought by the 'ready scribe' Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem this could only mean that the evidence of a highly organised priesthood and ritual given in the middle books of the Pentateuch was the result of a priestly manipulation aimed at establishing the antiquity of their order and its institutions. Thus, in all sorts of ways, priesthood, place of worship, ritual were projected into the past to appear there as fully developed in a remote antiquity. Such is the critical theory which holds the field at the present day, and its foundations in the Book of Judges seem sufficiently solid. But is there no other possible explanation of the mysterious disappearance of the priesthood in the Book of Judges, since so much depends on it? It is the purpose of this lecture to offer an alternative explanation.

But before we come to that we must consider a great deal of evidence, which at first sight may seem irrelevant, but in reality has an intimate bearing on the problem and its solution. Since

[1] *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, E.T., Edinburgh, 1885, p. 12.

the literary kernel of the Book of Judges appears to be largely legendary, and the stereotyped phrases connecting the legends strike an artificial note, the history of the period under the circumstances is necessarily vague and confused. We have no orderly presentation of events such as we expect to find in any historical document and indeed, such as we do find in the other historical books of the Old Testament. The picture is further muddied by the discrepancy between the accounts given of the conquest of the land in Joshua and Judges. In the former it is represented as an effort of the combined tribes under the leadership of Joshua which overran the whole country except the maritime plain and the Lebanon region. In the latter it is a very gradual and partial conquest, dependent for its results on the initiative and resource of the individual tribes. We have no clear picture of the state of the land or the organisation of the people. The general impression left on the mind is of a troubled land with no stable government, surrounded by foes who, when they began to exert severe pressure, forced the tribes to take concerted action to ensure their own survival.

It might be thought that something could be gleaned regarding the state of the land and the people from the records of the surrounding peoples who made contact with them. In the period between 1400 B.C. and 1000 B.C., within which the age of the Judges falls, the great powers Babylon and Egypt were too much preoccupied with their own troubles, external and internal, to meddle effectively in the affairs of Palestine. In Babylonia the non-Semitic Kassites were in occupation, and those troubled centuries witnessed the gradual recession of Babylonia and a corresponding advance to power and dominion of Assyria—a power which was destined to have such an effect on Israelite history from the ninth century, B.C. onwards. Egypt equally was recovering from the effects of the Hyksos invasion and domination, and the deep religious disturbance of the Ikhnaton revolution. Egyptian monarchs, amongst them Ramses II, generally accepted as the Pharaoh of the oppression, raided Palestine or its coast, but did not effectively occupy it, leaving opportunity for the infiltration from the east of Aramaean peoples, of which the Hebrew tribes formed part. The allusions

in the Egyptian records of the period to Jacob-el and Joseph-el as place names, or perhaps tribal elements, to Samḥuna, perhaps Simeon, and to Asher, do not carry us far. The Tell-Amarna letters, on the other hand, belong to a period considerably prior to the time of the full-scale Entry, although it may have been the period of Abraham's entry. Similarly, the Ras Shamra civilisation can only have had an effect on the Canaanite inhabitants prior to the Israelite occupation, if, indeed, they came within its sphere of influence. Thus the siftings of the available contemporaneous records from extraneous sources are meagre in the extreme, and throw no valuable additional light on the period under review.

But the sources of information regarding the Book of Judges are not thereby exhausted. There is one important source which has been almost entirely neglected, a source which on the face of it might be expected to yield important results. Yet it seems to have been wilfully discredited and discarded. I refer to the evidence which can be drawn from Samaritan sources. The Samaritans claim, not without reason, that they are survivors of Northern Israel, true descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh, and that they have as long and as proud a record as the tribe of Judah. They have ever had as their religious centre Shechem and Mount Gerizim. Barton admirably sums up their claim for Shechem as the true religious centre when he says: "It seems to me altogether probable that at the time of the settlement of Palestine, Sichem was the logical capital, and probably the place intended as the nation's sanctuary. Situated midway between Dan and Beersheba, and between Jordan and the Sea: the place to which Abraham had directed his steps, and the traditional scene of the meeting with Melchizedek and the offering of Isaac: the home of Jacob: the place towards which for forty years the nation had borne the body of Joseph —it was admirably fitted to be the national capital and sanctuary. There Joshua established his home; there at the beginning he caused the Law to be ratified: there he created the memorial and altar: there he convened the tribes in solemn assembly."[1]

[1] W. E. Barton, The Samaritan Pentateuch: *Bibliotheca Sacra*, lx (1903), Oberlin (Ohio), p. 630.

He might have added, there in the neighbourhood are the graves of Eleazar, Ithamar, and Phinehas.

The Jews, as is well-known, have no dealings with the Samaritans. They maintain that the Samaritans are merely proselytes from the nations introduced into the land to take the place of the Israelites deported by the Assyrians. They base their contention on II Kings xvii, where it is said that 'the Lord removed Israel out of his sight' and that 'Israel was carried away out of their own land'. But that does not necessarily mean that the whole population was removed. According to the Assyrian records it was Sargon, not Shalmanasar, who carried off the population, and his records disclose that he removed only some 27,000. To have removed the whole population would have meant the gigantic and impossible task of transporting more than a million souls, either across the Syrian desert or by following the long route round its top. Besides this we know that it was not the practice of the Assyrian conquerors to remove the whole population, but only the leading men, religious and civil, and the skilled artizans and craftsmen who might be of service to them, as well as any around whom might gather rebellious malcontents. The fact that the deportation must have been strictly limited, and that the population as a whole was little affected in character by importations from Kuthah, Sepharvaim, etc., is manifest from the Chronicler's account of the proclamations of Hezekiah and Josiah. After the fall of the Northern Kingdom both directed appeals to the northern tribes to rally round them and be reunited with Judah and Benjamin, to form again a single nation with one God and one worship. Such appeals could not have been made, in the form in which they were made, to worshippers of alien deities, or even to proselytes from other nations who had been led to the worship of Israel's God. They could only have been made to those whom they recognised as brethren, who had broken away from the family circle and whom they anxiously wished to return.[1] There is, then, no substance in the Jewish accusation. It is

[1] M. Gaster conjectured that those who were brought in to take the place of the deported Israelites were merely Assyrian garrisons recruited from the districts indicated—Babylon, Kuthah, Avva, Hamath and Sepharvaim—*Samaritans*, p. 17.

born of the ancient enmity which separates them. I venture to submit that the key to the understanding of the Book of Judges and what we may call its phenomenon, the absence of any indication of an organised priesthood, is to be found in this very hostility of Samaritan and Jew. But we must first have a realisation of its extent and the grave consequences which followed from it.

This antagonism has roots which go back to the period when the tribes were not yet formed into a nation. When the lots for the tribes were being cast by Joshua it was the Ephraimites who loudly expressed their dissatisfaction. 'Why has thou given me but one lot and one part for an inheritance, seeing I am a great people.'[1] They complain also that the hill-country of Ephraim is too narrow for them. It is, of course, true that other tribes, also, in the early stages of the indwelling showed reluctance to active co-operation in a time of national danger. At the watercourses of Reuben there were searchings of heart. Gilead abode beyond Jordan and refused to march. Dan declined to leave his ships, and as for Asher, 'he sat still at the havens of the sea and abode by his creeks.'[2] But whilst these tribes displayed indifference, the Ephraimites combined their abstention from the joint struggle with an aggressive antagonism which was evidently hard to bear. Thus, in the Book of Judges they are represented as chiding Gideon sharply for not summoning them to the fight against Midian. Again, it is the men of Ephraim who querulously complain to Jephthah that they were not invited to participate in the struggle against Ammon. But Jephthah was not disposed to be so diplomatic and conciliatory as Gideon, and in the subsequent fighting Ephraim is reported to have lost 42,000 men.

The hostility between Jews and Ephraimites (the forbears of those now known as Samaritans) comes openly to the surface and finds expression in the prophetic writings. In Isaiah, for example, there is a looking forward to a time when the outcasts of Israel and the dispersed of Judah shall be gathered together from the four corners of the earth, and Jew and Ephraimite will forget their differences. 'The envy, also, of Ephraim shall

[1] Joshua xvii, 4. [2] Judges v, 16, 17.

depart, and they that vex Judah shall be cut off. Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.'[1] The same peering forward to a time of reconciliation is voiced by Jeremiah. 'For there shall be a day that the watchmen upon the hills of Ephraim shall cry, Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion unto the Lord, our God.'[2] 'Ephraim is joined to idols' says Hosea contemptuously, 'let him alone',[3] thus recalling the accusation levelled by the Jews against the Samaritans that they worshipped idols. Hosea, too, chides their arrogance. 'When Ephraim spake there was trembling, he exalted himself in Israel, but when he offended in Baal he died.'[4] The accusation that Ephraim was overrun by foreign importees is also recalled by the same prophet's words: 'Ephraim, he mixeth himself among the peoples; Ephraim is a cake not turned. Strangers have devoured his strength, and he knoweth it not: yea, grey hairs are here and there upon him and he knoweth it not.'[5]

When Hezekiah sent a message to all Israel and Judah to come to keep the Passover in Jerusalem, the Chronicler adds he 'wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh.'[6] The reception of the messengers by Ephraim and Manasseh was, perhaps, typical. 'They laughed them to scorn and mocked them.'[7] The term Ephraim, as well as any reference to the northern tribes seems to have disappeared in the post-exile prophets. Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi make no mention of them. The opposition to the return under Zerubbabel and Jeshua by the Ephraimites, described as the 'adversaries' of Judah and Benjamin, reveals the steady persistence of the feud, and to give emphasis to the gibe and reproach that they are not of the same family as the Jews, a list of nine nations is given as a sample of the nations 'whom the great and noble Osnappar brought over and set in the city of Samaria and in the rest of the country beyond the river',[8] etc. This list, as given in Ezra, differs materially from that given in II Kings,[9]—only the Babylonians are included in both lists—but the purpose of both is the same, to drive home the contention that the Samaritans (as we now call

[1] Isaiah xi, 13. [2] Jeremiah xxxi, 6. [3] Hosea iv, 17.
[4] Hosea xiii, 1. [5] Hosea vii, 8, 9. [6] II Chronicles xxx, 1.
[7] II Chronicles xxx, 10. [8] Ezra iv, 10. [9] Ezra xvii, 24.

the Ephraimites) were not of the Hebrew family at all but miserable proselytes of variegated and doubtful origins. Josephus was perhaps the first to apply to them the opprobrious term Kuthim, that is, natives of Kuthah. Whenever he has occasion to speak of them he cannot conceal his venom. He calls them 'apostates of the Jewish nation'. Nothing is too harsh to say of them: 'Such is the disposition of the Samaritans that when the Jews are in adversity they deny that they are kin to them, and in so doing they confess the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying that they belong to them and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh.'[1] So much is Josephus obsessed with this hostility that he repeats the same charge in varying form half a dozen times in the course of his *Antiquities*. Kuthim, Minim and other derogatory terms are applied to the Samaritans in the Talmud, and the feud hardened to such an extent that there is a tractate attached to the Talmud which carefully defines the behaviour of the Jew towards the Samaritan. Paragraph sixteen of this tractate, the *Masseketh Kuthim*, enunciates the principle: 'They (the Samaritans) are not to be believed in any matter in which they are open to suspicion.' The mutual enmity continued unabated in the centuries which followed.[2] All attempts at reconciliation have proved unsuccessful. The first great effort must have been at the time of the acceptance of the Torah in its completed form by all parties—as we think in the period of Samuel or immediately after. Another outstanding effort was made at the time of the Bar Cochba rebellion. At the outset it looked as if this latter attempt might prove successful. But it turned out to be only a truce, and of short duration. From being hailed by the Jews as 'proselytes of the truth' the Samaritans quickly reverted to being 'proselytes of the lions'—a reference to II Kings xvii, 25. Neither party could efface, nor even conceal, their deep underlying prejudices, and Jew and Samaritan soon returned to the grim satisfaction of their ancient enmity.

[1] *Antiquities* XI, viii, 6.

[2] For the post-Biblical relations of Jews and Samaritans see H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar z. Neuen Testament aus Talmud u. Midrash*, München, 1922.

So all-devouring was this unquenchable hostility that it was inevitably reflected in their writings. The only Scriptures they had in common were the five books of Moses, the Pentateuch. Yet even here the intensity of their belief in this as God's word was not able to prevent alteration. The big issue at stake was the place chosen by God for his temple. The Samaritans held it was Mount Gerizim. The Jews maintained it was Mount Zion. Although the Jewish and Samaritan texts of the Pentateuch differ in multitudinous minor points, most of which can be ascribed to the hazards of text transmission, there are a few significant differences, which have a bearing on the rival claims. In Deuteronomy, chapter xxvii, there is given the injunction by Moses and the elders to the people that when they have crossed the Jordan they will set up stones on which the words of the Law are to be written. The Jewish text says this was to be done in Mount Ebal, the Samaritan text reads Mount Gerizim. If this latter were the authentic reading, it would, of course, constitute a strong claim for the pre-eminence of Gerizim—a claim which the Jews particularly wished to resist. The Jewish reading of Ebal has always been accepted, and the Samaritan dismissed as an attempt to bolster up a bogus claim. On this point we may draw attention to the fact that it is Ebal which makes curious reading here. Ebal, you will remember, was the 'mount of cursing' and Gerizim the 'mount of blessing'.[1] Gerizim too, was the natural hill of the two for favour, as the right hand was always one of happy omen,[2] and to a Jew facing east, the proper orientation, Gerizim would be the hill of the right hand. The second significant textual difference is to be found in the very core of Hebrew religion the Ten Commandments. The Samaritans include the first commandment in the Preface and add as their tenth the substance of the passage in Deuteronomy xxvii, 2-8, together with the identification of Gerizim given in xi, 30. This appears both in Exodus xx and Deuteronomy v. Here again a plea is entered for Gerizim, but the case does not seem so strongly in favour of the Samaritans as in the previous instance. The third significant difference is the use of the verbal form *yib-ḥar* (shall choose) by the Jews in the recurrent phrase in Deuteronomy

[1] Deuteronomy xi, 29. [2] Cf. Ezekiel, H.T. xxi, 27, E.T. xxi, 22.

'the place which the Lord your God, shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there'.[1] The Samaritans read *baḥar* (has chosen), implying that God had chosen Gerizim already. The textual difference is the slightest possible, the prefixing of a *yodh*, the smallest Hebrew letter, to the root to form the Jewish reading. It is absent in the Samaritan. In these changes, one or other is the culprit. The Samaritans blame 'accursed Ezra'. The Jews retort that the Samaritan Pentateuch is a clumsy forgery. There is no doubt that Shechem and Gerizim had a great initial advantage over Jerusalem and Zion. The latter came into the orbit of Hebrew religion at a relatively late date. To what extent the military indefensibility of Shechem militated against its mutual recognition as the one desirable centre for all Israel, we do not know, but the root cause of disagreement was undoubtedly the age-long feud. When David chose Jerusalem as his royal city, the Jews were faced with the difficult task of transferring the holiness of Shechem and Gerizim to Jerusalem and Zion. Whilst the Samaritans claimed that Gerizim was the chosen place, the Jews claimed that the Temple on Mount Zion was the sole abode of the Lord upon the earth, his earthly *home*. In this claim lay uniqueness, something beyond and above the Samaritan claim for their temple. The grandeur of the Jerusalem temple was also calculated to overshadow the Gerizim temple. The Jews, as time went on, strove to consolidate the position by ignoring or belittling Shechem, and by stressing such portions of the Pentateuch as could be interpreted to mean that the Lord had always in mind Shalem (Jerusalem) as a future dwelling place for himself.

It is remarkable, is it not, that an ancient sanctuary such as that at Shechem, so rich in its patriarchal associations, should be ignored and banished from the Jewish holy writings. All the writings of which the Hebrew Bible is composed outside the Pentateuch emanate from Jewish sources. Yet in all these writings Gerizim is mentioned only twice, once in Joshua,[2] and once in Judges.[3] Even in the account of the meeting of Jesus and the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well it is only referred to as 'this mountain'.[4] It was desirable from the Jewish point of

[1] Deuteronomy xii, 5 *et alia*. [2] viii, 3. [3] ix, 7. [4] John iv, 20, 21.

view to show that Shalem, not Shechem, was the first city hallowed by Jacob. Thus, according to Jewish reading and interpretation, Jacob did not come 'in peace' (בשלום) to Shechem, to buy land and erect an altar, but to 'Shalem, a city of Shechem', the word city being introduced before Shechem.[1] To the Samaritans Shalem was a township in the neighbourhood of Shechem, the name having survived to this day.[2] Again, at Genesis xlviii, 22, where Jacob gives Joseph 'one portion above thy brethren' where שכם is to be read 'portion', as shown by the masculine אחד for 'one', the Samaritan text has the feminine form אחת, with the rendering 'Shechem, one (city) more than thy brethren'. In this reading it is supported by the Septuagint.

As another straw to show the direction of the wind: according to Deuteronomy xi, 29, 30, the blessing was spoken on Mount Gerizim beside the 'oak of Moreh' (so the Samaritans), evidently a very famous oak.[3] In the Jewish text this has been altered to 'oaks', thus destroying its individuality. The Samaritan reading has the support of nearly all the versions. As showing, too, the reluctance of some Jewish commentators to admit even the obvious, if it in any way supported the claims of their hated rivals, the early Jewish *halakhah* would not admit that the Gerizim and Ebal of Deuteronomy xi, 29, 30 could be those in the vicinity of Shechem. Thus R. Eliezer conjectured that we have here another Gerizim and Ebal.[4] But later authorities and the

[1] Genesis xxxiii, 18.

[2] "The name Salem occurs in the neighbourhood of Gerizim in the history of Jacob: then again in Judith iv, 4: then in the history of John the Baptist, and still lingers in a village seen from the summit of Gerizim in a valley which leads out of the plain of Shechem towards the Jordan."—A. P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, London, 1875, p. 250. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* II, p. 469) speaks of Shalem as in the plain opposite Shechem, but he mentions also the tradition which existed in his time that Shalem was the ancient name of Jebus. Jerome was disposed to believe that Jacob's Shalem was Shechem itself, but he mentions two other identifications, one west of Jerusalem and the other near Scythopolis. The meeting of Abraham with Melchizedek is stated in the fragment of Theodotus preserved by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* ix, 22) to have occurred at Mount Gerizim. The tendency in the Scriptures to play on the name Shalem in its Jerusalem association and its affinity with *Shālōm* (peace) is well discussed by N. W. Porteous in *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, x, 1943, pp. 3 ff.

[3] Cf. Genesis xii, 6.

[4] אין זה הר גרזים והר עיבל שבין הכותים.

Mishnah admit that the well-known Gerizim and Ebal are here meant.[1] In Genesis xxxiv, 21 concerning the conference of Hamor and his son Shechem with the men of the city, the chance was seized to change the translation from 'these men (Jacob and his sons) are peaceable' to 'these men are Shalemites' (שְׁלֵמִים). Then, too, out of the 'peace covenant' of Phinehas some would like to have made a 'Shalem covenant'.[2] by dropping an initial *vav* before *shālōm*. This is a crucial point for if it were to be a 'Shalem covenant' combined with a 'covenant of an everlasting priesthood', it would place the Jerusalem priesthood above the Shechemite. To this point of the rival priesthoods we will return again.[3] Another name that has loomed large in the controversy is Mount Moriah, where Abraham made ready to sacrifice Isaac. Jewish commentators associate it with Jerusalem, although it is difficult to fit the Jerusalem Moriah into the story. Yet in II Chronicles iii, 1 Mount Moriah is associated with the Temple hill. The Samaritans identify Moriah with their Moreh. There is also a Jewish tradition to the same effect.[4]

All these instances show very plainly the anxiety of Jewish priests and scribes to find the divine choice of Jerusalem (or Shalem) as the central sanctuary with all which that implied,

[1] An interesting point as showing the trend of the hostility is given in Joshua xxiv, 25, when Joshua, we are told, made a covenant with the people and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem. Joshua is a book from the hands of Jewish compilers, but deals, of course, with northern legends. In the text here the Greek translators read Shiloh instead of Shechem. Then again the lxx makes an addition to the Hebrew text of Genesis xxv, 4, which tells how Jacob buried the idols near Shechem to the effect that 'he left them there to this very day'—a hit at the Samaritans whom the Jews accused of worshipping idols.

[2] Numbers xxv, 12.

[3] In Numbers xxv, 12 the *vav* in שלום is written small. The shrinking of the *vav* may represent a desire to have it eliminated as unnecessary and undesirable, leaving the way open for the reading *Shalem*. Another instance of their desire to change *Shalom* into *Shalem*, though not with the same purpose behind it, is found in II Kings xxii, 20, where it is said of King Josiah that he was gathered to his fathers 'in peace'. As Josiah was killed in battle, this description would be hardly accurate, so certain Greek texts (Symmachus is one) and the Syro-hexaplar read 'in Shalem' instead.

[4] Pirqe de R. Eliezer, c. 20 and 36: Yalqut, Genesis, § 34. See Z.D.P.V. vi, 198; vii, 133. See A. Geiger, *Urschrift u. Übersetzungen d. Bibel*, Breslau, 1857.

foreshadowed in the Pentateuch. This was a natural anxiety, for it was of the utmost importance for Jewish religious thought that the high destiny of Jerusalem should have been predicted in the Divine utterances and earliest Hebrew traditions. The fulfilment of this aim at times involved much ingenuity in text arrangement and interpretation, and to a mind without bias does not always carry conviction. The Samaritans, although equally ready with the Jews to bias interpretation, secure in the antiquity of their temple and its priesthood, in their records and traditions, and in the unbroken possession of the site since the days of the entry, appear to occupy a stronger position.

The modern view of the Samaritans and their literature is coloured by the wretched state of the poverty-stricken handful of survivors that eke out a miserable existence in the modern Shechem. Their learning, like their fortunes, appears now to be at a low ebb. Their writings which have survived the vicissitudes of their chequered history are relatively few. Their fanatical adherence to a literal interpretation of their Scriptures has confined within narrow limits the exercise of thought, and placed an effective check on all religious development. No such contribution to religious ethics as has been made by Jewish writings, could ever have emanated from the Samaritans. Yet the very rigidity of their religious tenets, maintained with strong anti-Jewish bias, has not been without effect on the Jews and their writings, as even they are prepared to admit. To quote the late Dr. Gaster: 'Their very antagonism to Judaism has been a powerful factor in moulding the character of the Sacred Scriptures, the religious laws and practices, which through the Bible have dominated the world. . . . Their history has been written at the hands of their adversaries and consists mainly of stray allusions in the Biblical, Rabbinic, and Patristic literatures, coloured as they naturally would be by the bias of the writers.'[1] Yet the Jewish viewpoint, with all its antagonisms, has been everywhere accepted without thought or question, and there has resulted a corresponding ignoring, or rejection of what is regarded as Samaritan pretensions.

We are not concerned here with the Samaritans as they now

[1] M. Gaster, *Samaritans*, p. 1.

are, but with the early Samaritans, or rather Ephraimites, more numerous than the Jews, a proud, arrogant, domineering section of the Hebrew people, in possession of the oldest sanctuary in the land and the earliest centre of organised worship, possessing a priesthood as highly educated as that of the Jews, and indeed at that time probably more so. 'In Samaritan Joshua and the Samaritan Chronicle it is recorded that the Samaritans inhabiting Gaza and Gerar were Benjamites. It shows that the Samaritan claimed to represent all Israel, except Judah, and not merely the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.'[1] 'In the V^th^ cent. A.D. they had begun to spread over Egypt and Palestine. In 493 A.D. they had a synagogue in Rome. In the VII^th^ century according to their own records they occupied the whole of Palestine except the Judæan hills and up to fifty years ago had a synagogue at Gaza'.—So C. R. Conder, writing in 1878.[2] It is recorded of them that even as late as the time of Justinian, when they lost 20,000 men in one battle, they could still offer the king of Persia the assistance of 50,000 against the emperor. In relatively late times, when their fortunes were ebbing, they took their culture with them when they spread abroad, and everywhere their abilities and their education secured for them high positions of trust in the administrations under which they came to live. As a branch of the Hebrew family they were as successful in business as their Jewish rivals, and in Damascus in the Middle Ages they were reputed to be a wealthy section of the community, although they were careful not to flaunt their wealth lest they should arouse enmity and fall victims to hostile cupidity. The full range of their surviving literature we need not discuss here. It is admittedly limited. But that a people so numerous, so cultured, so successful, the proud possessors of the central sanctuary and the high-priesthood in direct descent from Aaron through Eleazar, should not be possessed of a literature comparable with that of their Jewish brethren is unthinkable. It is equally unthinkable to dismiss it without consideration as tainted and unreliable. Like the Jews, and, indeed, like most Semitic peoples, they were interested in genealogies, and particularly, of course, in priestly

[1] C. R. Conder, *Samaritan Topography*: *P. E. F. Q. S.* VII (1876), p. 197.
[2] *Tent Work in Palestine.* 2 vols. London, 1878, I, p. 46.

genealogies. It is in the genealogies that we may most readily recognise authenticity and place most trust. To quote Dr. Gaster, who had a profound knowledge of the Samaritans and their literature: 'As far as the Samaritans are concerned the power and prerogatives of the priests have never been challenged. Throughout the ages they have been the sole rulers and guides. They have kept their chain of high-priests from Adam down to our own days, and although it is doubtful in some places, there cannot be any question that the priesthood has continued to wield the power vested in them by the Law. They have never been removed from Mount Gerizim and so have been able to preserve, practically unchanged, whatever form of tradition they may have possessed.' [1]

The Samaritan chain of high-priests exists in three, or rather perhaps four, forms. The simplest is one which amounts to little more than a bare list of names.[2] There is a second with some explanatory additions, which give information of interest concerning some individuals on the list.[3] The third is one with very considerable additions forming, in effect, the basis for a chronicle of events.[4] The fourth may be said to exist partially in the expanded chronicles given in the Samaritan Book of Joshua [5] and the Chronicles of Abu'l-Fat*ḥ*,[6] both of which were written in Arabic. The first three agree in giving the same names of the high-priests. The Arabic chronicles of the fourth are not directly concerned with the chain of high-priesthood, but the names, where given, show that they are acquainted with the traditional list. So much legendary and extraneous matter, however, has been introduced, quite uncritically, in these Arabic chronicles that little trust can be placed in them as historical records.

[1] *The Samaritans*, p. 47.

[2] Published by M. Gaster, *The Chain of the Samaritan High Priests: Studies and Texts*. London, 1925-8, I, pp. 483-502.

[3] Published by A. Neubauer, *Chronique Samaritaine: Journal Asiatique*, 1869 (6me série) XIV, pp. 385-470.

[4] Published by E. N. Adler and M. Seligsohn, *Une Nouvelle Chronique Samaritaine: Revue des Études Juives*, Paris, XLIV (1902), pp. 188-222; XLV, 70-98, 223-254.

[5] The Samaritan Book of Joshua has been published by T. G. J. Joynboll under the title *Chronicon Samaritanum*, Leyden, 1848.

[6] Text published by E. Vilmar, *Abul Fathi Annales Samaritani*, Gotha, 1865.

From the Jewish side there is a bare list of the high-priests in direct descent from Aaron through Eleazar given in I Chronicles, E.T. vi, 3-15, and again in E.T. vi, 49-53.[1] It is included amongst the extensive genealogical lists given in the opening chapters of the Book of Chronicles, and its purpose is presumably to demonstrate the descent of Zadok, the first high-priest appointed by Solomon to the Jerusalem temple, from Aaron. A comparison of the Samaritan and Jewish lists is interesting and revealing. In their progress down from Aaron the lists agree generally in the early names. Thus the Samaritan chain is Aaron, Eleazar, Phinehas, Abishua, Shishi,[2] Bahqi, 'Uzzi. The Chronicles' lists omit Shishi, and read Buqqi instead of Bahqi, otherwise they are the same as the Samaritan. It is at this point, however, that they separate. In the Samaritan list the son of 'Uzzi, who became high-priest, is given as Shishi. In the Chronicles' list he is given as Zerahiah. Thereafter, as could only be expected, the lists pursue their separate ways with entirely different names. We can see the reason. Whilst Shishi would be the oldest son of 'Uzzi and named after his great-grandfather, as shown in the Samaritan list, it was through a younger brother, Zerahiah, that the line which eventually produced Zadok started.[3] It is interesting to note that Ezra's genealogy, as given in his book, is traced back to Zadok, thence following the Chronicles' list to Zerahiah, son of 'Uzzi, and thence upward by the list in which both Samaritans and Jews agree, to Eleazar and Aaron.[4] There are indications that the Jews may have obtained the list from the Samaritans, one of these being the description of the Temple as ' the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem '.[5] This is a typical Samaritan glance askance at the Jerusalem Temple. Elsewhere in Chronicles it is called the ' house of the Lord ', the ' house of God ',

[1] Hebrew Text, v, 29-40, and vi, 35-38.

[2] This name may perhaps be read Sheshai, or Shashai.

[3] In the fact that Shishi (or Sheshai) was the elder brother of Zerahiah, and became high-priest, we may have the explanation of the dropping of the name Shishi (son of Abishua) from the Jewish lists. It was undesirable, from their point of view, to perpetuate a name which could be adduced in evidence by the Samaritans against the claim of the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem for the high-priesthood in direct descent from Aaron through Eleazar.

[4] Ezra vii, 1-5.

[5] I Chronicles, E.T. vi, 10 : H.T. v, 36.

'the Temple', 'the temple of the Lord', 'the house to the name of the Lord.'[1]

All this only adds to the great mystery of the Book of Judges. We see that in the Book of Chronicles the Jews join with the Samaritans in acknowledging an Aaronite high-priesthood extending from Aaron to 'Uzzi, that is, to the end of the period of the Judges. Why then is no mention made of it in the Book of Judges? Why this silence?

As is well known, the Samaritans accept only the Pentateuch as their Scriptures. The remainder of the Old Testament writings, which have all been composed or compiled by Jewish writers, they reject entirely. Naturally we must expect to find in the latter nothing that would in any way support Samaritan claims. We have just seen that the Samaritan priesthood of Shechem descended in direct line from Aaron and Eleazar, and that the chain of that priesthood was recognised as authentic by the Jews, at least as far as 'Uzzi. Now the Samaritans say that when 'Uzzi succeeded to the office of high-priest, he was a mere child. At the head of the house of Ithamar (Aaron's other son), the rival branch of the priesthood, was Eli, a man of forceful character and considerable influence. He claimed that under the

[1] It is of interest that the only other place in Chronicles where a similar expression is used is when Josiah made the attempt to reunite all Israel. For the benefit of 'all Israel and Judah that were present' (II Chron. xxxv, 18), he could only have used the words ascribed to him 'Put the holy ark in the house which Solomon, the son of David, did build' (xxxv, 3), rather than 'the house of the Lord', otherwise offence would have been given to 'those from Israel' who, no doubt, included Samaritans. The words used by Josiah make no claim to pre-eminence for the Jerusalem temple. This the words 'house of the Lord' would have done. Other indications that the Chronicles' list came from Samaritan sources can be given. The note added to the list after the name Azariah, 'he it was who exercised the priest's office in the house which Solomon built at Jerusalem'. To have any point this note should have been attached to Zadok, who was the first priest in the list to exercise these functions. It is a peculiarity of Samaritan copyists that if they had to add anything to their texts (such as omissions or explanatory additions) they wrote it in the margin, turning the folio on its side and hence writing from bottom to top of the column. They were not particular, however, to begin writing at the point where the addition fell to be made, thus leaving the way open to confusion and distortion of the text, if the reader or another copyist made the insertion at the wrong place. Even such an expert scholar as Dr. Gaster was led astray on at least one occasion in this way, with consequent misrepresentation of the text.

circumstances the high-priesthood should be vested in himself. He had a considerable following, and after strife broke out, he left Gerizim with his adherents and took up his residence at Shiloh. Apparently he took with him the Ark and perhaps also the Tabernacle.[1] The Samaritans do not admit this, but allege that Eli made for himself an ark of gold which he placed in his temple in imitation of the real Ark. They do admit, however, that at this time both the Ark and the Tabernacle disappeared. Their story is that the Ark and the Tabernacle were hidden in a cave on Mount Gerizim for safety. The mouth of the cave closed after them, and since then the entrance to the cave has never been found.[2] With the Eli schism and the disappearance of the Ark and the Tabernacle began the period of God's displeasure with Israel, called by them the *fanuta*, when His face was averted from them. The Eli schism was fraught with grave consequences for the Hebrew people, and marked a turning point in their history. Israel's religious development now broke away from the Shechem tradition and followed the fortunes of Shiloh. It was by way of the Shiloh temple through the medium of Samuel that the kingdom and the Jerusalem temple were instituted. It was through Samuel, himself an Ephraimite, that Ephraimite and Judæan alike were brought to accept a joint Torah, the Law of Moses, as their Scriptures, and it was perhaps part of a policy of conciliation that gave Zadok, a descendant of Eleazar, though not in the direct line of the Shechemite priesthood, the priesthood of the Jerusalem temple.[3]

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.* V, x, 2—'Now Elcanah came with his wives to the city of Shiloh to sacrifice; for there it was that the tabernacle of God was fixed, as we have formerly said.'

[2] There is a similar story told in II Maccabees involving the prophet Jeremiah. 'The prophet, being warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him as he went forth into the mountain where Moses climbed up and saw the territory of God. And when Jeremy came thither he found an hollow cave, wherein he laid the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense and so stopped the door. And some of those that followed him came to mark the way but could not find it. Which when Jeremy perceived, he blamed them saying: As for that place it shall be unknown until the time that God gather his people again together and receive them into mercy' (ii, 4, 5).

[3] Josephus, *Antiq.* V, xi, 5 gives the following account: 'Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron, that had the government;

We return now to a closer consideration of the mystery of the Book of Judges, bearing in mind that atmosphere of hostility to the Shechemite priesthood and all its works in which Jewish writers were enveloped. Moses, in appointing Joshua to the military command, had laid down for all time in Israel the relationship between the head of the priesthood and the head of the forces. Joshua was to stand before Eleazar, that is, Eleazar was his superior. At the high-priest's bidding, after consultation with God through Urim, the military leader was to go out and to come in.[1] The procedure here laid down at least survived the period of the Judges, for it was clearly the procedure on which Samuel's relationship to Saul and David was based. This adds to our wonder that in the period of the Judges the military leader seems to have survived, although his superior, the high-priest, has disappeared. Indeed, very little is made of Eleazar himself in the Book of Joshua, where we should have expected him to be particularly prominent. This is not due to the fact that Eleazar died too soon to make his influence felt, for according to the Samaritan records, Eleazar outlived Joshua by some four years.[2] Yet Eleazar appears to be mentioned only in connection with non-military matters, such as the distribution of inheritances.[3] Joshua does not seem to be answerable to anyone for his actions, nor does he invite nor accept, direction or advice from anyone save the Lord. He even issues instructions to the priests who bore the Ark at Jericho. We see Eleazar being quietly eliminated, in the Book of Joshua, a portent of what was to happen to the high-priesthood in the Book of Judges. There

for the family of Eleazar officiated as high-priest at first, the son still receiving that honour from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his son Phineas; after whom Abiezer his son took the honour, and delivered it to his son, whose name was Bukki, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom Eli, of whom we have been speaking, had the priesthood, and so he and his posterity until the time of Solomon's reign, but then the posterity of Eleazar reassumed it.'—Tr. W. Whiston.

[1] Numbers xxvii, 18-23.

[2] Josephus, after speaking of the death of Joshua, adds: 'About the same time died Eleazar the high-priest, leaving the high-priesthood to his son Phinehas.' —*Antiq.* V, i, 29.

[3] Joshua xiv, 1 *et alia.*

the military leaders, the Judges, receive their commissions, and take their instructions, direct from God.[1]

On the Samaritan side there is, of course, no disappearance of the high-priest, and no curtailment of his functions. The Samaritans have the same list of Judges as the Jews (indeed, as we have already observed, it is very probable that the Jews relied for their information on Ephraimite records). There is only slight variation in the names. Thus Othniel is Nathanel, and Barak is Parak in the Samaritan chronicles. The names of some of the minor judges are transformed in ways explicable by their transmission in Arabic script. To the Samaritans the military leaders were in the same position relative to the high-priest as Joshua, and each was appointed to his post by the high-priest in office at the time. The Samaritans did not call them judges but kings. Joshua, because of his appointment by Moses, was called the 'holy king Joshua'. There was no interval between one king and another. When one commander-in-chief died, another was appointed in his place by the then high-priest. There is no waiting for a time of national crisis, such as is suggested in the Book of Judges. This may explain why there is so little to say about the so-called minor judges in that book. They were military leaders holding office at times when no military activity was called for.

Now let us put ourselves in the position of the Jewish chroniclers assigned the task of recording the history of the period of Joshua and the Judges. We do not know when they wrote, but it may well have been long after that period. The feud with the Samaritans was bitter and the rival claims of Gerizim and Zion were fiercely canvassed, as ever. There could be no yielding a jot on any point that would justify or promote Samaritan claims.

[1] 'It is Yahweh who commissions them either by a prophetic message (iv, 6) or by a self-manifestation (vi, 11 ff; xiii, 3 ff.), who promises his presence and support (vi, 14, 16), and vouchsafes special signs in confirmation of his promise (vi, 17 ff., 36 ff., xiii, 19 ff.). His spirit comes upon them (xii, 29; cf. iii, 10), or clothes himself in them (vi, 34), or rushes upon them (xiv, 6, 9; xv, 14), or strengthens them in answer to prayer (xv, 18, 19; xvi, 28 ff.). He goes forth before his host in the visible manifestations of nature (v, 4, 5; cf. iv, 14), discomfits (iv, 15), and gives into their hands their foes (iii, 28; vi, 9, 15; viii, 3, 7; xi, 30; xiii, 3; also xi, 9) and gives them victory (xv, 18).'—C. F. Burney, *Book of Judges*, London, 1918, p. cxxiii.

To admit that the practice instituted by Moses was followed and that successive high-priests appointed the military leaders led inevitably to a recognition of the justice of the Samaritan claim for the supremacy of their priesthood and sanctuary. What would be the position of the Jerusalem temple and priesthood relegated for ever to a subordinate place. Jerusalem could not live in the shadow of Shechem. The legitimacy of the Aaronite high-priesthood of Shechem was beyond effective challenge, its authenticity beyond question. The attempt to turn the adversaries' flank by ' Shalem ' interpretations was a valuable diversion, but it did not of itself suffice. The only possible escape from the dilemma, and the only way to stifle the persistent challenge to Jerusalem, was to ignore the Shechemite priesthood altogether, to treat Israelite history as if they had never entered into it. Phinehas was the last of the line to be mentioned in the Pentateuch, and could not be ignored, but after him—silence. The fade-out of the Aaronite priesthood of Shechem was gradual. The process is witnessed in the minimising of the part played by Eleazar in the Book of Joshua. It advanced to a complete black-out in the Book of Judges.

Since the Samaritans called their military leaders, kings, that term could not be used by the Jews. The suppression, too, of all mention of the high-priests who were the legislative heads, implied that headship of the legislature would be one of the functions of the military leader raised by God. Hence the choice of the name Shōfēt, judge. We can now appreciate the significance of the phrase, oft-recurring in the Book of Judges : ' In those days there was no king in Israel. Every man did that which was right in his own eyes.' This was obviously directed against the Samaritans and the ' kings ' they made. It was also intended to force home the argument that there was no priesthood to control legislation. There is no reason to believe that the Jewish writers or compilers materially altered the stories of the judges of which they made use, but we can realise the importance of the recurrent formulæ which introduce the ' deliverer '. It ascribes to the Lord the whole interest in, and direction of, the tribal doings. Everything is of the Lord's doing with intermediate agencies eliminated. And looking at

things from the broad religious point of view, one cannot cavil at that attitude, for the ultimate responsibility is always His.

But the conspiracy of silence regarding the Samaritan priesthood had to be extended in another direction. After all there was Eli. Would not the genealogy of Eli reveal that his claims to high-priesthood were more than doubtful? His genealogical tree would inevitably lead back, not to Eleazar, but Ithamar. Not to the elder of the surviving sons of Aaron, but to the younger. But if you look for the genealogy of Eli in the Scriptures you will be baffled. Samuel, Saul, David have all their genealogies. You will search the lists in Chronicles in vain for that of Eli. Indeed, you would not know that Eli belonged to the house of Ithamar were it not for an accidental reference in I Chronicles xxiv, 3, where Ahimelech is mentioned as 'of the sons of Ithamar'. The ancestry of Ahimelech is traceable to Eli through his son Phinehas. Likewise in Chronicles there is no genealogy of Ithamar, for, if his descendants were given, Eli would inevitably have figured amongst them. The conspiracy of silence had to be maintained.

It was not to be expected that the suppression of all mention of the Samaritan priesthood would escape notice. The Rabbinic commentators, who are quick to note anything irregular or unusual in the Masoretic text, although the explanations they freely offer may not always be critically sound, noted the hiatus in the priestly succession after Phinehas. Their explanation was that Phinehas was an angel, or they identified him with Elijah, who was taken up into heaven and lives for ever.[1] He could thus bridge the gap before the appearance of Eli. According to Josephus, the family of Phineas lived in retirement during the time that the high-priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar, of which family Eli was the first that received it.[2] As we know

[1] I am indebted to P. R. Weis for the following note. The Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Numbers xxv, 12 has 'I shall make him (Phinehas) an angel who shall live for ever in order to announce the salvation at the end of the days'. "In Joshua ii, 4, speaking of the Jericho spies, the Hebrew text reads: 'And the woman took the two men and hid *him*' (not *them*), for one of the spies was Phinehas, who is an angel and can make himself invisible"—Midrash Rabbah to Numbers xvi, 1. The Midrash Rabbah to Leviticus i, 1, 'And the angel of the Lord came up from Gilgal' explains this as referring to Phinehas.

[2] *Antiquities*, VIII, i, 3.

only too well, it was observed, too, by Christian critics of the Old Testament, and has served as one of the main bases of the modern critical theory which scholars have accepted, the assumption being that no mention of a priesthood implied its non-existence. The schism of Eli and his departure from Gerizim, must have seemed at the time a great national disaster, and, indeed, it was so reckoned. The Samaritans looked upon it as the beginning of God's displeasure with Israel. But it was a most fortunate day for the world. Had this not happened and, in consequence, had there been no Oral Law, no Temple, no Scriptures apart from the Torah, Hebrew religion would never have been freed to contribute in itself, and through its daughter religions, to the spiritual domination of the world. No world religion could ever have blossomed from the dried and sapless tree of Mount Gerizim. The intense fanaticism and rigidity which defy and defeat all impulses to growth and expansion mark a religion down as food for the souls of the restricted few, and its ultimate future can only lie in gradual decay and eventual disappearance in the dust of the centuries. No charge of falsification can be laid against the Jewish writers or compilers of the Books of Joshua and Judges, but it is true to say that they have exercised to the full the privilege, claimed by all early historians, of selecting from the materials of history such as they deemed necessary to present the facts of a situation in the way that they wished. It is equally true to say that in doing so, some inconvenient particulars have been conveniently ignored. But the picture they present for our consideration is true in its broad aspects. In their method of presenting history, the Lord is brought from the background of all things to the forefront as the controller of events. In His presence, and with His active participation, the intervention of the Samaritan priesthood seemed to be superfluous, and its ignoring justified from the point of view of promoting religion, if not from that of recording history. The Samaritan priests, at best, were but instruments in God's hand, and where the power of God is concerned, there is no need to think or speak of instruments.

RESTORATIONS IN MENANDER.

By T. B. L. WEBSTER, M.A., F.S.A.

HULME PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

I. Introduction.

THE publication of Körte's third edition of the papyrus fragments in 1938 provided a material incentive for restudying Menander. But before Menander's comedy can be interpreted, it is necessary to decide both how much can be restored or reconstructed of the plays preserved in papyrus fragments and how far the Roman adaptations of Menander have been altered by Plautus and Terence. The present article deals only with the papyrus fragments and not with all of them,[1] but I have tried all through to mention parallels with the Roman adaptations. Actual parallels with the Greek original are strong evidence of the faithfulness of the adaptation ; where a Roman play suggests a scene or situation to stop a gap in the lost stretches of a Greek original, this is also some evidence of the faithfulness of the Roman poet. In the light of this evidence, I hope later to consider the Roman plays themselves with a view to seeing how far it is possible to provide a firm foundation for assessing Menander.

II. Heros.

The brief argument which is presented at the beginning of the *Heros*, gives the main lines of the story and the Dramatis Personae. 'An unmarried girl (Myrrhine) gave birth to twins (Plangon and Gorgias) and handed them over to a guardian (Tibeios) to bring up. Then later she married her violator (Laches). The guardian, who was ignorant of this, put the twins into service with Laches (this is described l. 21 f. ; when the play opens, Tibeios is dead, and Plangon and Gorgias are working off his debt in Laches' household). A servant (Daos)

[1] For a study of the *Perikeiromene* and *Misoumenos* see Rylands Bulletin, xxix, 369. *Kolax* and *Perinthia* are reserved for study with their Roman adaptations.

fell in love with the girl, believing her to be a fellow slave. But a neighbour (Pheidias) had already violated her. The servant wanted to take the blame on himself. The mother (Myrrhine), not knowing the truth, was excessively angered. When things came clear, the old man (Laches) discovered his children, and the violator (Pheidias) took the girl willingly.'

The Dramatis Personae adds the characters in their order of appearance: Getas (slave of Pheidias),[1] Daos (slave of Laches: 29 f.), the divine Heros (who must therefore have spoken the formal prologue after the opening scene like Agnoia in the *Perikeiromene*), Myrrhine (wife of Laches, mother of Plangon and Gorgias), Pheidias (the young man who had violated Plangon), Sophrone (on the analogy of the *Epitrepontes* should be an old nurse), Sangarios (a slave: Sanga is the soldier's slave in Terence's *Eunuch*; Sangarinus is Pamphilippus' slave in Plautus' *Stichus*), Gorgias (brother of Plangon), Laches (husband of Myrrhine, father of the twins). Körte rightly suggests that the absence of Plangon from the dramatis personae can only mean that she is pregnant.

The play opens with a colloquy of Daos and Getas in which Daos confesses his love for Plangon, whom he believes to be the child of Tibeios. He also tells us that Laches has gone to Lemnos for three months[2]; during this period, Plangon's pregnancy has presumably become obvious. Whether Daos tells Getas this to account for his despair (7 f.) is uncertain; Ulbricht[3] has pointed out that l. 38-40, 41 f. strongly suggest that Daos does not know. Getas' position is unclear. Does he know that Pheidias has raped Plangon? and does Pheidias himself know whom he has raped? Master and slave are ignorant of the victim only in the *Epitrepontes*, where the whole plot

[1] Capps. *Four Plays of Menander*, 6 says that Getas cannot be Pheidias' slave because he 'shows himself quite unfamiliar with the affairs of the household of Laches and of the relations of Plangon with Pheidias'. Jensen (*Menandri reliquiae*, P. XVIII) on the other hand thinks that Getas is Pheidias' slave and mocks at Daos' ignorance (l. 39, cf. 24). These are the extreme views: the strong argument for Getas being Pheidias' slave is that otherwise Sangarios must be Pheidias' slave and he does not arrive until too late. On Getas' state of knowledge, see below.

[2] Accepting Wilamowitz' *τρίμηνον* in l. 45.

[3] *Krit. v. Ex. Studien*, 29 f.

depends on this ignorance. On the analogy of the *Samia*, *Georgos*, *Adelphi*, *Andria*, and *Aulularia* the master knows and the slave should know. On the other hand, there is nothing positive to show that Getas knows (see n. 1 above), and as Pheidias doesn't appear until considerably later, Pheidias may be away (like the young man of the *Georgos*) and therefore may not have told Getas. Let us assume then, that Getas does not yet know that Pheidias has raped Plangon.

This scene is followed by the expository monologue of the Hero. The next character in the dramatis personae is Myrrhine ; she has no one to talk to except Daos and it seems unlikely that Daos claims the responsibility for the rape of Plangon before the first chorus. I prefer to think that a monologue by Myrrhine immediately follows the first chorus and then Daos comes out to her. If so and if the ' hunters ' of fr. 8 are the chorus (so also Capps, 6), a further Daos-Getas scene or a monologue of one of them came between the monologue of the Hero and the arrival of the chorus. The *Perikeiromene* and the *Com. Flor.* both have at least one further scene after the divine monologue and before the entry of the chorus. The same must be assumed for the *Epitrepontes* and the *Georgos* (see below). Therefore it seems to me possible that during the speech of the Heros Daos learns that Plangon is pregnant. Ulbricht's suggestion (p. 31) that Getas tells him seems to me unlikely, as stated above. He learns it in the house and then tells Getas. Together they work out the plan that Daos will assume responsibility for the rape, much as Onesimos and Habrotonon work out a similar plan in the *Epitrepontes* (317 f.) ; whether Daos has a clue that Pheidias may be responsible, we cannot say. The assumption of a false role is not uncommon in Menander's comedies : Daos' object must be to obtain Plangon for himself—he already has Laches' promise (43) and thinks that, if he claims to be the father of the child, Myrrhine will give him the girl now. Therefore his motives are entirely selfish like those of Chaerea when he impersonates the eunuch (*Eun.* 369 f.), not partly altruistic like those of Habrotonon in the *Epitrepontes* (317 f.) nor wholly altruistic like those of Gymnasium in the *Cistellaria* when she impersonates Selenium (367).

Myrrhine's position becomes a little clearer if we consider other plays of Menander. Rather similar situations occur in the *Hiereia*, the *Georgos*, the *Cistellaria*, and the *Heautontimoroumenos*. In the *Hiereia* the priestess gave her son to a neighbour to adopt but brought up her daughter ; the father of the children, who had deserted her, long afterwards extracted the truth from the priestess and finally married her. In the *Georgos* the boy has been put out to work with Kleainetos as with Laches in this play ; there is at least a hint that Kleainetos turns out to be their father and finally marries their mother Myrrhine.[1] In the *Heautontimoroumenos* (622 f.) Sostrata had exposed her daughter by Chremes and subsequently the girl turns up and is recognised ; Sostrata has to explain to Chremes that she has disobeyed him. In the *Cistellaria* (156 f.) Demipho is a Lemnian merchant who violated Phanostrata at the Dionysia and returned to Lemnos and married ; Phanostrata gave her baby to a male slave who exposed it and it was found by the *Lena ;* when Demipho's wife died, he returned to Sicyon and married Phanostrata and sent a slave to search for the daughter who was duly discovered. All these stories are variations of a common theme ; Myrrhine in the *Heros* was deserted before her twins were born like the Priestess, Myrrhine in the *Georgos*, and Phanostrata in the *Cistellaria ;* like Phanostrata she was subsequently married by her violator, but although like the Priestess and Myrrhine in the *Georgos*, she apparently knew her children (otherwise she would not have been so disturbed by Daos' claim to have raped Plangon ; so Körte, xv), Laches has still to be recognised as their father, like the father in the *Hiereia* and Kleainetos in the *Georgos*.

Myrrhine's story had no doubt been told by the Hero, so that in her monologue she probably only told the latest development, the pregnancy of Plangon, and her inability to help her daughter because she dare not confess her motherhood to Laches. Myrrhine knows that Plangon has been raped ; but as she is excessively angry at Daos' claims to be the violator, it appears that, unlike Myrrhine in the *Georgos* and Sostrata in the *Adelphi*, she does not know that Pheidias is guilty. Whether Plangon can

[1] Most editors assume this from l. 58.

identify Pheidias is impossible to tell; the *Aulularia* (29 f. *is scit adulescens quae sit quam compresserit, illa illum nescit*) and the *Epitrepontes* provide parallels for ignorance. It may be at this point that Daos 'wanted to take the blame on himself', and received the full brunt of Myrrhine's wrath (ἄγαν ἐδυσχέραινε). Fragment 209K with a quotation of Euripides (fr. 431N²) belongs here: 'Mistress, nothing is stronger than love, not even Zeus himself, who rules the gods in heaven but does all that love compels'. The rest of this scene cannot be reconstructed: it is possible that Myrrhine sends Daos off to punishment but more likely, on the assumption of Myrrhine's ignorance, that he is sent to find out who the true culprit was. Myrrhine may even have told Daos that Plangon is her daughter and so satisfied him that his case was hopeless, since it rested on Plangon being a fellow slave (cf. Argument (6) and Chaerea's self defence in the *Eunuch* (858): *conservam esse credidi*).

A further scene between Daos and Getas, in which perhaps Getas tries to comfort Daos with a pitcher of wine (fr. 212K), may go far towards establishing the truth in Getas' mind before the arrival of his young master Pheidias, who can hardly appear later than the second act but must appear after Myrrhine according to the order of the Dramatis Personae. Pheidias, like Myrrhine, can be compared with other characters in Menander—Moschion in the *Samia*, the young man in the *Georgos*, Aeschinus in the *Adelphi*, Pamphilus in the *Andria*, Lyconides in the *Aulularia*. Each marries the violated girl "willingly", as the writer of the Argument to this play puts it; none of these young lovers desert like the older generation—Laches in this play, Kleainetos in the *Georgos*, Demipho in the *Cistellaria*, and the father in the *Hiereia*. But various hindrances intervene before the marriage is possible: in the *Aulularia* and the *Georgos* the girl herself is to be married to an older man; in the *Samia* complications arise from the suspicions of Chrysis; in the *Andria*, *Georgos*, and *Adelphi* the young man's father has arranged another marriage for him. Some such stumbling block must have arisen in the *Heros*: at least Pheidias presumably could not explain his love to his father because the unknown girl, assumed before to be the daughter of Tibeios and now a love

child of Myrrhine, would have no dowry. A possible reconstruction would be that Pheidias' father had arranged for him to marry a daughter of Laches by an earlier marriage and then all turns out well when Plangon also is discovered to be a daughter of Laches ; Pheidias' part would then be like Pamphilus' in the *Andria*. Pheidias would be informed of the course of events in Myrrhine's house by Getas, who in his turn would be informed by Daos. The details of the Pheidias scenes in the second and third acts we cannot guess but the atmosphere is probably given by the Moschion scenes of the *Samia*. Fr. 216K is perhaps an invitation by Getas to Pheidias to cool his heels elsewhere.[1]

Three further characters appear before Laches : Sophrone, Sangarios, Gorgias. Laches himself has clearly arrived some time before the text re-opens with the beginning of an act (55). Whether this act is the fourth act or fifth act can for the moment be left uncertain. Sophrone is always a nurse in Menander : Sophrone in the *Epitrepontes* is Pamphile's nurse and convinces Smikrines that the baby is in fact his own grandchild (704 f.) ; Sophrone in Terence's *Eunuch* is Pamphila's nurse and proves Pamphila's parentage (807, 914). So here Sophrone, we can safely assume, was Myrrhine's confidante at the time the babies were born and arranged for their disposal (the words of the argument suggest that they were not exposed but voluntarily taken over by Tibeios) and is now also Plangon's confidante in her trouble. She, if any one, can identify Laches as the father of the children and Pheidias as the ravisher of Plangon. Sangarios is a slave, presumably of Laches, and as he appears before Laches, it is possible that his only function is to announce his master's return from Lemnos, much as Daos announces Kleainetos' arrival in the *Georgos* (22), with similar discomfiture for Myrrhine ; it is possible also, that he is an older slave than Daos and holds a clue to identify Laches as Myrrhine's ravisher. If the analogy with the *Georgos* is correct, the arrival of Sangarios may be framed by dialogues between Myrrhine and Sophrone, and Sangarios may have announced Laches' intention to complete the marriage of Daos and Plangon.

[1] Cf. *Andria* 708, *Heautontimoroumenos* 587, *Perinthia* fr. 395.

Gorgias is the brother of Plangon, and the chief reason for introducing him must be to display anger at his sister's condition. The run of scenes may have been very like the parallel scenes in the *Georgos* (99 f.): Gorgias arrives and meets Sophrone at the moment when Plangon gives birth to a child; then Laches arrives and Gorgias has to be pacified: fr. 210K 'Honour should have the privileges of high birth and the free man should everywhere hold his head high' sounds like part of Gorgias' protestations, to which Laches, like Kleainetos, might reply that it is only too easy to take advantage of poverty.

The passage where the papyrus text resumes is fraught with difficulties. Körte's argument (*app. crit.* ad loc.) that only Laches can talk to Myrrhine in the tone of 69 f. is decisive for the personalities there. The firm points are the following: 70 f. Laches has resolved on something which Myrrhine regards as mad and which in some way involves Gorgias ('much joy I have got from the shepherd I took on'.) 76 f. Myrrhine complains that she alone is suffering and that her misfortune exceeds her deserts, which leads Laches to ask her whether she was ever violated, then whether she knows who violated her. She then explains when the violation took place and presumably said that it was in a sacred precinct at night (note that on the assumption of a 35 lines page less than 11 lines separate 81 and 82); then according to Körte's certain reconstruction Laches asks (83f): 'Didn't he feel any shame before the holy place?' The dialogue continues (some of the same missing 11 lines separate 89 and 90) and Laches interrogates Myrrhine, then says (probably aside, as Körte thinks) 'All is coming clear' (96). Laches is discovering that he himself raped Myrrhine; the proof probably needs the assistance of either Sophrone or possibly Sangarios, and this scene will follow. Fr. 213K 'You were with difficulty, my dear, made to relax and were drugged' is possibly part of the explanation.[1]

The interpretation of the beginning of the act from l. 55 is less clear. Körte assumes apparently a short soliloquy of Pheidias (the maximum addition of lost lines between 53 and 65 is again

[1] So also Van Leeuwen, *Menander*,[3] 10.

11); then Pheidias stands aside 'like a statue',[1] while the dialogue follows between Laches and Myrrhine. So short a soliloquy seems to me unlikely unless the speaker is one of the main speakers of the dialogue and Pheidias' presence is neither necessary nor desirable in this scene. It seems to me more likely that Laches takes the air to give vent to his feelings and the ἄσωτος (60) may even describe Laches' own action in violating Myrrhine: similarly, the bride (56) may refer to Laches' plan for giving Plangon to Daos or of giving his other daughter to Pheidias (see above). Myrrhine is on the stage from 65 and some exaggerated misfortune has fallen on her alone (76), which Laches says that he is resolved to see through (71). Körte's reconstruction based on Sudhaus, of 66 f. is "L.: 'Say rather who the mother is'. M.: 'They say it was the Thracian girl'. L.: 'But it is not'. M.: 'Who is it then?' L.: 'You, unhappy one'." This does not account for 70 f. or the 'alone' (76). The only satisfactory explanation that I can see is that Laches, having discovered that the twins are Myrrhine's children, proposes to turn Myrrhine on to the street, just as Demeas throws Chrysis out in the *Samia* (154 ff.). The lines then run: "L.: '[Take] the Thracian girl [Sophrone and go!' M.: 'Who is to go?'] L.: 'You, unhappy one'. M.: 'What?' L.: 'Certainly, woman. To the devil'. M.: 'You are mad to say things like that'. L.: 'I'll do it and my mind has long been made up. By Zeus, Myrrhine, much joy I have got from the shepherd I took on, who [only knows how to look after] sheep (βληχώμενον) [but allows his sister to be raped (some of the 11 missing lines separated 73 and 74) What is wrong with you? You are standing like] a statue. M.: 'It is pitiable that I should suffer such misfortune alone, so incredibly disproportionate'. L.: 'Reflection will no doubt soften the blow. Did someone once ravish you?'"

Whether this be correct in detail or not, Laches has already learnt before the act begins that Myrrhine is the mother of the

[1] Körte assumes Pheidias' presence in introduction and text and in his *app. crit.* quotes Sudhaus for παρίσταται. Sudhaus however, in *Menanderstudien* and text and ap. Jensen has παρίστασαι which must refer to Myrrhine, as I take it below.

twins and this he could have learnt from Gorgias or from Daos or from both. If Laches returned with intent to marry Plangon off to Daos, a scene at the end of the preceding act may have enlightened him as to the present state of affairs. The scene interpreted above was probably followed by a scene with either Sophrone or Sangarios or both to clinch the recognition. As this is the main recognition scene of the play, it seems to me more likely to open the fourth act than the fifth act, and the addition of a slave scene or two—Daos gets the news from Sophrone and passes it to Getas—to fill the fourth act. For the fifth act there remain the arrangement for the marriage of Plangon and Pheidas, the recognition of Gorgias as the son of Laches and perhaps arrangements for his marriage to his half-sister (who according to our conjecture had previously been promised to Pheidias) and, we may hope, the liberation of Daos.

Although so much is lost, we know enough to say that the play belongs to the same family as the *Georgos*. Apart from the unravelling of the plot, the chief interest probably lay in two contrasted pairs of characters ; the town boy, Pheidias, and the country boy, Gorgias, the irascible Laches and the gentle Myrrhine.

III. Epitrepontes.

The first act of the *Epitrepontes* consists for us of a papyrus fragment and seven brief quotations, which can reasonably be ascribed to it. It is not possible to establish exactly its length but it is possible to reach some approximation. Körte reckons that the total length of the *Epitrepontes* was 1205 lines ; of these the preserved lines of the Cairo manuscript, which starts in the second act, number 697, and the gaps in the Cairo manuscript amount to 190 ; he reasonably reckons a maximum of 70 for the end of the play ; this makes a total of 957 lines, leaving 248 lines for the first act and the beginning of the second (of these 51 lines are preserved in the Leningrad papyrus and 14 in fragments). Körte suggests that 40 lines are lost at the beginning of the second act, which would reduce the first act to 208 ; the *Perikeiromene*, however, had a first act of 265 lines.

A little arithmetic may help towards determining what we have lost: Wilamowitz [1] has shown that the opening dialogue between Onesimos and the Cook must not be cut too short, because, besides the exposition (Onesimos has to tell the cook the story of Charisios' marriage, Charisios' journey away from home, his own discovery that Pamphile had had a child, Charisios' return and reception of this story (the *πρότερον μηνυμάτων* of 246), Charisios' move to Chairestratos' house, the hiring of Habrotonon), the cook makes jokes (Ath. 659b), describes his art (fr. 178K), and apparently has finally to be driven into the house by Onesimos (fr. 3Kö). The opening dialogue of the *Heros* consists of 52 lines; but a better parallel may be the dialogue of Syncerastus and Milphio in the *Poenulus* (821 f.) which runs to 100 lines; we may therefore, reasonably allow some 70 lines to Onesimos and the Cook. The succeeding divine monologue, which is necessary to tell the audience that Pamphile's child is in fact also Charisios' child, perhaps also to mention the character of Smikrines and to explain the character of Charisios (cf. Agnoia in the *Perikeiromene*) can be as short as possible, perhaps 40 lines (the prologue speech of the *Aulularia* takes 39 lines).

Some 100 lines of the first act remains to be accounted for. A total of 45 lines (35 surviving, 10 lost between 22 and 23) from the last scene before the chorus are preserved by the Leningrad fragment; at the beginning Smikrines soliloquizes and the first preserved remark of Chairestratos rings like his first remark in the scene—'this is what I was waiting for: he will break in and destroy our love-party'—he later comments directly on what Smikrines is saying. In all the analogies in Menander that I have been able to discover the overheard does not speak at any great length before the overhearer comments; the longest appear to be the untypical speech of Halisca in the *Cistellaria* (671 : 25 lines) and the speech of Megadorus in the *Aulularia* (475 : 20 lines), which latter may perhaps be the best analogy for our scene; then 15 lines for the beginning of Smikrines' soliloquy is the maximum addition to the 45 lines of the Leningrad fragment. This leaves us a balance of at least 40 lines and strongly suggests another scene before the arrival of Smikrines.

[1] *Das Schiedsgericht*, 47 f.

There are in fact, loose ends which seem to need such a preparatory scene. Why is Chairestratos outside at all? What is the love which Smikrines' arrival will spoil (6)? Not the love of Charisios for Habrotonon because that does not exist, as is seen in Act III, a fact for which the audience might well be prepared and which Onesimos is hardly likely to have told the cook. Why the imprecation on Chairestratos' house (31)? If the 'love' which may be spoilt is the love of Chairestratos and Habrotonon this scene and the later relations of Chairestratos and Habrotonon (see below on 455 f., 650 f.) become clearer. On this assumption Chairestratos, before Smikrines arrives, tells that Charisios will have nothing to do with Habrotonon but he himself is desperately enamoured of her, though she will not look at him (cf. 254).

Whether this earlier scene was a monologue or whether some other speaker, e.g. Simias or even Charisios himself, took part, cannot be decided; if another speaker was present, the natural reason for his withdrawing would be the arrival of Smikrines; if that is accepted, this character cannot be the same as the character who summons Chairestratos in 16, because the summoner does not recognise Smikrines. Wilamowitz and Körte assume this latter character to be Simias and Simias (whose name is fixed by 454) to be a youthful friend of Chairestratos; but no youth in Greek Comedy as far as I know is called Simias. The name occurs twice in comedy, once for a slave in Plautus' *Pseudolus* and once in a fragment of Dionysius (Kock, fr. 2 according to emendation which seems certain). In the fragment of Dionysius the cook explains to Simias at length the advantages of knowing who the banqueters are so that the cook's art may be properly deployed; an inspection of comic cooks shows that a cook may talk about his art to an old man (Diphilus fr. 17-19; Anaxippus, fr. 1; Euphron, fr. 1), a slave (Menander, *Samia*, 71 f.; Alexis fr. 172-5; Hegesippus, fr. 1; Sosipater, fr. 1; Athenion fr. 1), a foreigner (Alexis fr. 149; Lynceus, fr. 1), or a *leno* (*Pseudolus*, 794 f.) but nowhere can a young man be identified. As Simia in the *Pseudolus* is a slave, Simias is probably also a slave (rather than an old man) in Dionysius and Menander; the tone of 650 f. admirably fits this assumption and Sudhaus'

conjecture μὴ δέσποτ' in 488 can then be accepted. Simias is probably the elderly pedagogue of the young Chairestratos and their relations approximate to those between Charinus and Byrria in the *Perinthia*,[1] and Pistoclerus and Lydus in the *Bacchides*.

Who then is Chairestratos' partner? Not Simias, since neither a slave nor an old man would call him γλυκύτατε. Habrotonon is a possibility—she might well wish Chairestratos ill; she has no reason to recognise Smikrines; and she can better say γλυκύτατε than anyone else. In that case, it is Smikrines who says ὁ τρισκακοδαίμων ψαλτρίαν (19). In any case, the fact that must not be told to Smikrines (23) is presumably that Charisios will have nothing to do with Habrotonon. Jensen's suggestion (xxiii) 'amici cum Smicrine pauca colloquuntur' is quite unnecessary, as Körte has seen; there is no need for overheard to meet overhearer (cf. *Andria* 459, 481; *Aul.* 608; 667).

The beginning of the second act is also lost. It is quite possible that the arbitration scene in fact began with the first surviving line (42) but Smikrines must be on the stage when Syriskos and Daos arrive. Moreover, we hear later (403) that Smikrines may have learnt in the town some truth which Onesimos would not have him know, and Jensen's attractive restoration of 407-16 suggests that Smikrines had gone away after the Arbitration in the belief that Charisios was reconciled to Pamphile. This deception must have been known to the audience and therefore Onesimos must have met Smikrines when Smikrines came out of Charisios' house at the beginning of Act II. The opening lines of Act II must therefore be assigned to Onesimos and probably the fragment (581K) inserted by Jernstedt does in fact belong here. Onesimos means that the whole situation is extremely difficult but there is one certain guiding line and that is, loyalty to his master.[2] With ὁ γέρων he turns to say he must deceive Smikrines, who then comes out.[3] The scene of deception

[1] I hope in a later article to show that there are strong grounds for supposing that Terence took these two characters (but not their names) into the *Andria* from Menander's *Perinthia*.

[2] Rather similar speeches *Andria*, 209 f., 675 f.; *Heauton*, 353 f.; *Aul.*, 587; *Samia*, 296.

[3] So also Murray, *Arbitration*, 34.

on the analogy of similar scenes [1] might occupy about 30 lines.

From there all is clear until Smikrines' return (407). The sense of 417 f. is clearly: ['How completely Charisios deceived me (compare 417 with *Samia* 253) . . .] he discovered [my wealth] and pretended to be a philosopher (422) [2] but in fact was quite the reverse and abandoned the simple life; he loves dancing-girls, continual potations, gambling perhaps (425 with fr. 914K). This is not my business (fr. 554K); [but Pamphile's dowry is my business (so Körte, xxii)]'. The cook with his attendants then comes out of Chairestratos' house because Habrotonon's story about the baby has broken up the feast; it can be assumed that Smikrines asks whether Charisios is there with the flutegirl (445) and that the cook, who has been characterised already as περίεργος (fr. 849K), also tells him that Charisios has accepted the child from Habrotonon (Smikrines knows this in 469), that he intends to send Pamphile away (449: Wilamowitz suggests [ἀποπέ]μπειν) and that Habrotonon claims to be mistress of the house (453). The cook withdraws hastily when he sees Chairestratos and Simias coming (454-5).

The next scene is fragmentary. Chairestratos and Simias come out of Chairestratos' house. Chairestratos' opening words to Simias must run on these lines (455): 'I nearly [won] Habrotonon [for my own, Charisius was] so haughty [about her] before, [and now he has admitted that he is the father of her child]. I have lost [her] and I am afraid [to tackle him]'. Smikrines has heard enough to confirm the cook's story and to decide that he has grounds for removing his daughter; he will use their evidence (465: παρακαλέσω) that Charisios is father of a child (469), which they probably deny, as he then asks for their testimony that at least his daughter has been badly treated (486-7). Simias begs Chairestratos to defend Charisios, 'although' he has himself suffered (488-9), and part of the defence is preserved (490 f.). It provokes a new outburst from Smikrines (500: κεκηδ[ευκ .] must be spoken by Smikrines, as Wilamowitz saw;

[1] E.g. *Andria*, 432 f., *Adelphi*, 553 f.

[2] Reading φιλό[σοφος ὥσπερ ὤν τις, ἀλλὰ τ]ῷ τρόπῳ ἐναντ[ίως ἔχων δίαι]τα[ν] τὴν ἁπλοῦν ἀφῆκε.

the quotation of 501 by Harpocration (177K) strongly suggests that οὐκ οἰμώξεται was also spoken by Smikrines and is therefore an answer to an ineffective interjection by Chairestratos. At the end of the act Smikrines goes into Charisios' house to find Pamphile ; Chairestratos and Simias return to Chairestratos' house).

The fourth act opens with Smikrines' attempt to persuade Pamphile to leave Charisios. The total length from the beginning to Habrotonon's entry (532) is approximately 150 lines. When Smikrines leaves, Pamphile must comment on the cruelty of destiny, which had robbed her of her child (Smikrines knows no more of this than Euclio in the *Aulularia*) and allowed Charisios to accept Habrotonon's child, but if we allow 30 lines to these necessary preparations for Pamphile's scene with Habrotonon, the balance of approximately 120 lines belongs to the Smikrines—Pamphile scene. It is noticeable that Smikrines makes no mention of Charisios' child in the preserved beginning and end of his speech (530 is peroration) ; it seems probable therefore that Pamphile answers in a set speech and then Smikrines plays his trump card, the scene perhaps ending in stichomyth (so Murray *Arbitration*, 80). Charisios overhears part of the scene ; Onesimos' description (564) implies that Charisios has opened the door and, no doubt, he comments on the dialogue, unseen by the speakers (cf. Chairestratos in the first act) ; he listens to the end and knows that Smikrines will return with Sophrone to fetch Pamphile (607-11).

All is then clear to the end of the fourth act, but the fragmentary concluding lines of the fourth act (640 f.) do not show what happens to the speakers. Onesimos' reference to 'reconciliation and riddance of former ills' (751) are evidence that Charisios and Pamphile are already reconciled by the time that Smikrines arrives ; therefore Charisios and Onesimos go into Charisios' house at the end of the fourth act to complete the reconciliation (Sudhaus, *Menanderstudien*, 12, thus restores the last two lines) ; probably they take Habrotonon with them. If this is right, how much do Chairestratos and Simias know at the beginning of the fifth act? They know that Habrotonon claimed that Charisios was the father of her child and that Charisios and Habrotonon have now vanished together. Simias

is trying to make Chairestratos accept the situation, remain Charisios' friend and give up Habrotonon (657 : *μὴ βλέπ' εἰς [ταύτην ἔτι]*). His words in 654 f. are very close to *Perikeiromene* 150, where, when Glykera has taken refuge in Myrrhine's house, Daos tries to persuade the infatuated Moschion to remove himself or at least keep quiet until the situation has cleared itself up. So here Simias continues : ' and first she [must work things out] in private with Charisios, her darling and her sweetest [as she calls him] ' (658-9).[1] Onesimos supervenes on this situation and presumably tells them the truth. Sudhaus (22) introduces Syriskos here, which is attractive but there is no evidence for Syriskos' presence and settlement with Syriskos may well have waited until the play was over. The end of the scene is difficult : who says (702) ' [a guardian] with self-control. He (Chairestratos) would not have kept his hands off a girl like that. But I shall ? ' Sudhaus' suggestion that Chairestratos prides himself on being able to out-trump Charisios in virtue is impossible ; only Charisios can say this and he then retires within his doors as Smikrines approaches ; before these last words of Charisios, Simias has presumably persuaded Chairestratos to retire. Admirers of Habrotonon have not unnaturally wanted to see her married off to Chairestratos, but, as far as I can see at present, there is neither evidence in the play nor analogy elsewhere to justify this. The end of the play was occupied with the reconciliation of Smikrines and the liberation of Onesimos.

IV. The Samian Woman.

The surviving passages of the *Samian Woman* are separated by a gap of 140 lines, or in other words belong to a quaternion of the Cairo manuscript which has lost two pages of four sides after the middle and one page of two sides at the end. The reconstruction of the manuscript proposed by Körte.[2] which seems entirely reasonable, allows 17 sides between the end of the preceding play and the beginning of the surviving text, which, allowing for title, argument, and Dramatis Personae on the first

[1] Cf. for the double article Dem. xix, 311, *τὴν ὁσίαν καὶ τὴν δικαίαν ψῆφον* Kühner-Gerth, 463, 2.

[2] Introduction, xi.

page, amounts, to about 575 lines of text. Demeas' monologue with which the text opens seems to be the beginning of an act ; is it the second (Gomme), third (Körte), or fourth (Wilamowitz) [1] ? If the play ended with the quaternion, which again seems a likely assumption, approximately 550 lines remain after the beginning of Demeas' monologue. If Demeas' monologue begins the second act, the first act was more than twice as long as in the *Perikeiromene* or in the *Epitrepontes*, which is unlikely. It is more difficult to decide between the other two theories. As far as arithmetic goes, we have to assume that either the first two acts of the *Samian Woman* were 125 lines longer or the last two acts were 100 lines longer than the corresponding acts of the *Perikeiromene* and *Epitrepontes*. As far as content goes, the sequence ' Act IV *Recognition*, Act V Clearing up ', which can be seen in the *Perikeiromene* and *Epitrepontes* and has been assumed for the *Heros*, is better realised if Demeas' monologue begins Act III and Act IV starts somewhere in the 140 line gap between 201 and 202.

This gap is not difficult to stop. When the text breaks off, Nikeratos is consoling Chrysis for her expulsion, and when the text resumes again Chrysis and the baby are in Nikeratos' house. Nikeratos therefore shelters Chrysis, the baby, and (presumably, although we hear no more of her) the old woman (158). The only scene which occurs to me as a parallel is the flight of Glykera to Myrrhine's house in the *Perikeiromene* (72) ; here too I suspect that the wife of Nikeratos is involved and suggest that, as Nikeratos goes in with his sheep (there will be feasting in both houses as in the *Aulularia*), he calls his wife out to receive Chrysis ; the two women then discuss the situation and decide on a common front against Nikeratos when he shall have learnt the truth (211 f.); for the present he is satisfied with the explanation that Demeas has lost his temper and with the official story of the baby, although he regards Demeas as ' out of his wits ' and ' soft ' (ἡύς) ; [2]

[1] Gomme, CQ. 1936, 70 ; Körte, xxxviii ; Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften*, I, 416. Moschion's intention to go campaigning, which Gomme stresses (*loc. cit.* 71 f.), is, I think, a passing comic *motif* like the similar intention of Alcesimarchus in the *Cistellaria* (284).

[2] In the *Andria* Davos calls Pamphilus' decision to recognise Glycerium's baby *amens, audax* (217, cf. 401).

that is in character and corresponds to Chremes' views of Menedemus in the *Heautontimonyoumenos* (438) and Demeas' views of Micio in the *Adelphi* (63). The scene between Chrysis and the wife of Nikeratos presumably completes Act III.

When the text resumes, Demeas has told Nikeratos that Plangon is the mother of the baby but not that Moschion is the father. If we ask why Demeas has only told him half the truth, the answer is first that Demeas has bungled, perhaps because he is even more afraid of the effect on Nikeratos of the second half of the truth (204, 244 f.), secondly that Nikeratos will not stop to listen (202), thirdly that Menander wants both the comedy of misunderstanding and the comedy of running in and out of houses ; both are parallelled in the *Aulularia* by Euclio's misunderstanding of Lyconides (727 f.) and by his excursions in the Megadorus scene (202, 243). A monologue, in which Demeas rejoices in his discovery that he has misjudged Chrysis and proposes to tell Nikeratos the news so that he may be able to bring Chrysis back and go on with the wedding, must precede the scene in which Demeas tells Nikeratos half the truth. He presumably assumes that Chrysis has gone to Nikeratos ; I do not think that we need provide anyone to tell him nor suppose that he thinks first of the wedding and only discovers from Nikeratos where Chrysis is.

But who tells Demeas the truth ? The answer can only be Moschion, and this is clear from Moschion's own speech at the beginning of Act V, where he speaks of ' getting free with difficulty from the accusation laid on him ' and ' the misconduct which his father assumed ' (271-7). A possible parallel to this scene can be seen in the charming passage of arms between Micio and Aeschinus in the *Adelphi* (637 f.). Was it also there preceded by a monologue in which the young man made up his mind to tell the truth ? This seems very likely. Aeschinus had met Canthara who had shown him that he was suspected of desertion (*Ad.* 616). Did Moschion similarly know that Demeas suspected him of being the father of the baby, and that Chrysis and the baby had been turned out ? Parmenon knew the first fact and the cook the second. Kunst [1] assumes that Parmenon,

[1] *Wiener Studien*, xliii, 154.

when he fled (109), fled to the market place to tell Moschion. This is possible but it is curious that Parmenon refers to this meeting neither before he goes nor when he comes back, whereas in two obvious parallels the slave carefully tells the audience that he is going to inform the young master (*Andria* 226, *Perikeiromene* 74).

The second, and from Moschion's standpoint, more urgent fact is known to the cook, if he is present when Chrysis is finally driven away. There is no manuscript evidence for the cook's presence in the scene between Demeas and Chrysis, and Wilamowitz [1] gives to Chrysis the remarks given by Körte to the cook; I need however refer only to Gomme's [2] completely satisfactory defence of Körte's arrangement. The only reason for the cook's presence must be, as Sudhaus saw,[3] to enable him to use the information later; therefore it seems to me extremely probable that Moschion, returning to his adoptive father's house, whether he had already met Parmenon or not, fell in with the cook, who was airing his grievances and, like his mate in the *Epitrepontes*, ready to gossip. The probable sequence after Act III, Sc. 8, Nikeratos, Chrysis, old woman with baby (201) seems to me therefore to be as follows: Act III, Sc. 9, Chrysis and wife of Nikeratos; Act IV, Sc. 1, Moschion and the Cook; Sc. 2, Moschion monologue; Sc. 3, Moschion and Demeas; Sc. 4, Demeas monologue; Sc. 5, Demeas and Nikeratos (202).

For reconstructing the earlier part of the play we depend upon hints. First we have the formal likeness to other plays in which marriages are arranged; the *Aulularia* provides the closest parallel: 280 f. arrival of rich man's slave and cook or cooks (= *Samia* 68 f.); 371 f. arrival of poor man with offering (= *Samia* 184 f.); 406 f. contest between hirer and cook (cf. *Samia* 142 f.). The sequence of earlier scenes in the *Aulularia* may suggest elements likely to have been present in the *Samia*: 178 f., rich man and poor man discuss marriage (this must have been paralleled in the *Samia*); 264, rich man goes with slave to the market (in the *Samia* Demeas had evidently sent Parmenon but had not accompanied him himself); 268, poor man tells his

[1] *Kleine Schriften*, i, 429.
[2] Gomme, *C.Q.*, 1936, 71.
[3] *Menanderstudien*, 39.

housekeeper of the marriage, then goes to the market ; housekeeper comments on the extreme difficulty of the situation from the point of view of the bride (this may very well have been paralleled in the *Samia* by a short scene between Nikeratos and the wife of Nikeratos). One further scene in this sequence can be deduced with certainty : ' Moschion gladly heard of the proposed marriage when it was revealed to him ' (119). As Parmenon does not return from the market until after Demeas' monologue in the third act, the news of the marriage must have been given to Moschion by Demeas himself and was probably followed by a monologue in which Demeas expresses his extreme joy at Moschion's happiness to contrast with the opening monologue of Act III. The run of scenes at the end of Act II may therefore have been (*a*) Demeas and Nikeratos discuss the marriage of Moschion and Plangon, Parmenon goes to market ; Nikeratos enters his house ; (*b*) Demeas calls Moschion out ; Moschion rejoices at the news and goes to see his friends ; (*c*) Demeas' monologue ; (*d*) Nikeratos comes out as Demeas goes in, telling his wife to get things ready ; the wife of Nikeratos comments on the situation.

To get beyond this, the few passages which point back must be reconsidered. Demeas' insistence on Moschion's virtuous conduct not only towards him but towards everybody (57 f., 127 f.) shows that he had no idea of Moschion's rape until just before his monologue at the beginning of the third Act. Neither Moschion's necessity nor Moschion's love, which Demeas discovered when the marriage had been arranged (120) and, as has been suggested above, described in a subsequent soliloquy, were the cause of the marriage. Other suggestions are that Parmenon tricked Demeas into the marriage with the story that Moschion would otherwise go to Asia as a soldier,[1] and that Demeas wanted the marriage because Nikeratos had done him some great service abroad.[2] The first suggestion is unlikely, because, if Parmenon had been responsible, he would have added to his list of " innocences " (300 f.) : ' My young master wanted

[1] Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, 422-3.

[2] Van Leeuwen, *Menander*, 98 : Demiançzuk, fr. 14 (*incerta*) probably provides a parallel.

to go to the wars and my old master prevented him by a proposal of marriage. What has Parmenon to do with this?' The second suggestion is attractive and it certainly seems likely that, even if Nikeratos were as blind as Euclio in the *Aulularia*, Demeas at least had been away from home, but on the analogy of the *Aulularia* in which also a rich man proposes to marry a poor girl, the assumption of a great benefit conferred by Nikeratos on Demeas is unnecessary. Demeas no doubt thinks that a girl brought up by Nikeratos would make a good wife for Moschion.

Some scholars have wished to deduce more from Demeas' second monologue in Act III (115-23) and Moschion's monologue at the beginning of Act V (281). Does 'he would be of the same mind as then and my enemy' (117-8) imply either that Demeas and Moschion had quarrelled at the time of the baby's conception or that Moschion had refused an earlier suggestion of marriage? They can be so interpreted; but, as Demeas' explanation of the rape is that Moschion was drunk (124), there is no reason to suppose that there was any former clash between them. Wilamowitz [1] suggests that ἐρῶν (120) might mean 'in love with Chrysis' and then αὖτις in Moschion's speech (281) refers to a former occasion on which Demeas accused Moschion of this; but the natural explanation of 281 is 'if all was well—he would not have a second chance of abusing me to my face but I should be at the wars'; the aorist ᾠτιάσατο is used of a momentary action to contrast with the imperfect διέτριβον of a continued action.

Although Parmenon had no part in engineering the marriage, Parmenon undoubtedly contrived the transference of the baby from Nikeratos' house to Chrysis, even if Moschion actually carried the child (305). It can also be regarded as certain that Chrysis accepted the baby to replace her own baby which had died [2]: she, like Myrrhine in the *Perikeiromene*, wants a son (172); if it cannot be her own, another baby will do; she was responsible for the baby not being exposed (this is the force of ἀναιρεῖσθαι); she admits this herself (159), and Demeas (64, 139)

[1] *Op. cit.*, 422, n. 1.

[2] Körte, xxxviii.

and Nikeratos (196) both know it. She insists on its being reared against Demeas' wishes (64) and does her utmost to prevent its recognition (211). A certain discrepancy between Chrysis' assertion that Demeas' anger over the baby had only shown itself when he expelled her (197) and Demeas' reiteration that Chrysis gave him a pretext by bringing up the child against his will (64, 159) suggests that Demeas had not fought this question out with Chrysis himself but had probably only grumbled at some length, when told about it on his arrival, presumably by Parmenon, who would wish to instil into Demeas' mind as early as possible the idea that he was the father of the baby: Chrysis' description of Demeas' conduct (197), taken with Demeas' own description (4 f.) make it almost certain that Demeas did not enter his house until after he had made the arrangements with Nikeratos and Moschion. That being so, the second Act probably began with Demeas' arrival from his journey; he is met by Parmenon who tells him about the child and no doubt stresses the uniformly virtuous conduct of Moschion. Demeas then grumbles about the child but decides that the first thing to be done is to go ahead with his marriage scheme and summons Nikeratos from his house.

The transference of the baby must belong to the first act, and we can only guess how it happened. Certainly Moschion must have given vent to his anxiety at some length and confided his troubles to Parmenon; he has no reason to suppose either that Demeas will forgive him or that Nikeratos will forgive Plangon. The nurse knows the truth about Chrysis' child and it is at least possible that Chrysis sends her out to find another.[1] Whether the birth of Plangon's child had already taken place or took place during the dialogue between Moschion and Parmenon cannot be said. Nor can we be certain whether there was a formal prologue; Van Leeuwen's conjecture[2] that Chrysis is finally recognised as Moschion's sister and an Athenian citizen and marries Demeas would make a formal prologue necessary but is itself the purest guesswork. Nevertheless, as in the *Aulularia*, a formal prologue would be convenient to tell the past

[1] I do not feel certain that Harmon's identification of *Samia* and *Titthe* should be rejected.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 100.

history of Demeas, Chrysis, and Moschion and probably also to describe Demeas' character.

Jensen [1] says that Menander's chief aim at least in the middle part of the play was to draw two old men, one urbane, the other rustic ; the other characters take a second place and their actions are determined by Menander's desire to illuminate the characters of the old men. Nikeratos however, nowhere in the considerable surviving fragments has a scene in which he can develop his own point of view ; he is always a foil to Demeas nor is there any reason to suppose that the first two acts redressed the balance. The parallel for the pair of old men is not Micio and Demeas in the *Adelphi*, who are evenly matched, but Euclio and Megadorus in the *Aulularia*. Menander's chief interest in this play is the character of Demeas just as his chief interest in the *Aulularia* is the character of Euclio. The *Samia* is an early play, according to Körte [2] one of his earliest. It has therefore plenty of wild comedy, and receives its name from the woman who was prepared to accept another's child as her own and force Demeas to bring it up : the name scene belongs to the first act like the ' Shearing ' which gave the *Perikeiromene* its name. But though much is comedy, Demeas' monologues are deadly earnest [3] ; he is passionately in love with Chrysis but he decides to stifle his love because Moschion's supposed action is out of character, the result of temporary insanity, not an ἀδίκημα but an ἀτύχημα like Polemon's in the *Perikeiromene* and Charisios' in the *Epitrepontes*.

V. Georgos.

Heros and *Georgos* are linked by common names and incidents, as has already been shown. The continuous fragment of the *Georgos* belongs to the end of the first act and the beginning of the second act. The fragment starts with p. 6 of the manuscript ; we can therefore assume before it a blank outside page, then five pages of text. The maximum that we can have lost is 220 lines of text (44 lines to a page), but as the first act ends after l. 96 of our fragment, it is unlikely that more than 160

[1] *Menander* reliquiae, xliv. [2] *Op. cit.*, xl.

[3] ' Einen inneren Kampf zwischen Eifersucht und Vaterliebe, der zu Menanders schönsten Darstellungen seelischer Vorgänge gehort '. Wehrli, *Motivstudien*, 64.

lines have been lost; the text of the play must in any case have been preceded by Argument and Dramatis Personae and Wilamowitz [1] argues also for a γένος Μενάνδρου at the beginning.

The opening speech of the young man, who may for convenience be called 'Pheidias' is shown by its closing lines (20-21) to be a soliloquy; its earlier lines described his love affair and according to Quintilian [2] he quoted some woman's words (the girl's or her mother's; Myrrhine must have been named somewhere before 41). That he has heard that the girl (Hedeia) is pregnant can be deduced from his opening: 'suspecting [no evil]. I was not wicked nor did I seem [so then to her mother—for] [3] the boy [at that time] was always in the country'. Who told him? Probably like Clinia in the *Heautontimoroumenos* (175), he took steps to find out about the girl before going home, but this was the night before (7) and before the play opened; 7 f. shows that he has not been seen on the stage before. The alternatives before him now, are (*a*) to abandon Hedeia and marry his stepsister (this he does not even mention), (*b*) to run away altogether and say nothing to Hedeia (14-16),[4] (*c*) to knock on the door and tell Hedeia, but then he is afraid of Gorgias (17-19), (*d*) to go away and think it out (20-21), which he finally does.

It is clear that 7 f. is the only reference to his father in the whole speech. Something more is no doubt provided by a divine monologue which Körte [5] assumes, and as the stage is empty for a moment as 'Pheidias' goes off, only a divinity can justify another break when 'Pheidias' comes on; a divinity is also necessary to tell the past history if Kleainetos is in fact the father of Gorgias and Hedeia (see above on the *Heros*). The arrival of Daos (32) would be much more intelligible if before the divine monologue 'Pheidias'' father, whom we shall call 'Laches', sent Daos to the country to fetch greenery for the wedding; such a scene would have explained 'Laches'' position and would have run on the same lines as the second scene [6] of the

[1] *Kl. Schr.*, i, 242, 247. [2] *Inst. Or.*, xi, 3, 91 (quoted by Körte, xliv).
[3] Reading in 3, e.g. τῇ μητρί πω to give a contrast to ὁ μειράκισκος.
[4] Reading as Jensen: 14, ἀπιὼν μὲν ἐκ τῆς, 15, αὐτῇ.
[5] *Op. cit.*, xliv. [6] I hope to discuss this later.

Andria (28-47). As the Daos scene stands, it is possible to argue that Daos is Kleainetos' slave, bringing in greenery for the wedding of Kleainetos and Hedeia ; why else does he know so much about Kleainetos ? or bother to tell Myrrhine ? On the other hand, Myrrhine's avoidance of him (31 f.) and the tone of his description of Kleainetos' household (55 f.) make it more probable that he is ' Laches' ' slave, but an earlier mention is necessary to make this clear to the audience.

At most twenty-five lines are lost at the beginning of Act II, and it is natural to suppose that Gorgias comes on at the beginning of the Act. He has seen no one ; yet by l. 100 he is ' distracted ' (στρόβειλος) and wonders what to do. The only thing that can distract him is the news about Hedeia and the only way he can hear that is if her cry for Artemis reaches him while he stands outside the house ; it is to that that the mention of Artemis (112) refers and the child had not been born at the end of Act I (88 : ἐγγύς seems certain). Then no doubt follows a council of war with Myrrhine.

For the rest of the play we have little guidance. It is certain that Kleainetos on his arrival calmed Gorgias down and prevented him from taking violent vengeance (129 f. ; fr. 94, 95, 97). He presumably abandoned the idea of marrying Hedeia, just as Megadorus was persuaded to give up the girl at the end of the *Aulularia*, and then told ' Laches ' of the wrong done to her by ' Pheidias ' rather as Hegio attacks Demeas in the *Adelphi*. But before he goes to see ' Laches ', the recognition must take place, by which he turns out to be the father of Gorgias and Hedeia ; how this comes about we cannot say, but Myrrhine certainly and probably Philinna have a part in it ; therefore when Kleainetos goes to ' Laches ', he is speaking on behalf of his own daughter and possibly suggests a marriage of his son to ' Laches' ' daughter ; finally he may marry Myrrhine himself.[1]

The scene between Kleainetos and ' Laches ' cannot well be earlier than the fourth act. How has ' Laches ' been persuaded to postpone the marriage of his son and daughter so long ? A fragment in trochaics (100K) runs : ' Are you mad? It is

[1] Körte, introd., xlv, compares *Hiereia* where the old man finally marries the priestess and the late marriage of Micio in the *Adelphi*.

absurd when you have fallen in love with a free-born girl to keep silent and do nothing when a marriage is being arranged for you?' A slave, presumably Daos, is talking to 'Pheidias' in some excitement. The next step is of course an intrigue against 'Laches'. It seems to me possible that, when Gorgias has learnt the truth from Myrrhine at the beginning of Act II, he goes off to the country to return with Kleainetos at the beginning of Act IV or late in Act III (129 f.), but first tries to have it out with 'Pheidias' and bangs on 'Laches'' door; 'Pheidias' is out (20) but Daos is interrogated and so learns the truth; Gorgias then goes and 'Pheidias' cautiously returns (or is fetched by Daos). Daos and 'Pheidias' work out their plan; 'Pheidias' is to keep out of harm's way, while Daos tells 'Laches' the truth and thereby delays the marriage, since 'Laches' is thereby brought to much the same state of mind as Chremes at the beginning of Act V of the *Andria* (820 f.). This much at least must happen before the arrival of Kleainetos for the scenes which lead to the dénouement.

So little is preserved that we can see little more than the main lines of construction and the flavour is lost. As in the *Heros*, the two young men are obviously contrasted as town-boy and country-boy, and Gorgias' violent attack on the town boy's morality must have been one of the high points in the play; the defencelessness of the poor against the different standards of the rich is a theme which recurs elsewhere in Menander, notably in the *Cistellaria* and probably also, as we have seen, in the *Heros*.[1] Kleainetos calms him with an appeal to his pride[2]; Kleainetos gave the play its name, *Georgos*, and the description of his life on the farm with the minimum of servants and those foreign (55 f.) recalls the description of Menedemus at the beginning of the *Heautontimoroumenos* (62 f.). It is tempting to suppose that Kleainetos' life also is a self-imposed penance, presumably for his desertion of Myrrhine, which has taught him the wisdom shown in his dealings with Gorgias.

[1] *Cistellaria* 21, 492; *Heros*, fr. 210K (see above); cf. *Adelphi*, 501 and *Aulularia*, 226.

[2] Fr. 95, 4 μικροψυχία is explained by Aristotle, *Ethics*, 1124a, 15 (ὁ μεγαλόψυχος) οὔτ' εὐτυξχῶν περιχαρὴς ἔσται οὔτ' ἀτυχῶν περίλυπος.

VI. Other Plays.

Theophoroumene. The opening lines of which only the ends remain, can be made to yield a little more ; first, the commentary on the girl's speech evidently goes back some way before the full text begins ; secondly, the charge of imposture (24) has already been made : 12, [ἀλα]ζονευέται ; thirdly, the young man of whom the girl speaks is apparently Kleinias : 14, κλ[ειν]ία. In the continuation I am inclined to read 17, ἀπώλεσα for Körte's ἔπ[ται]σα, which is justifiably doubted by Page.[1] Page's τί δ' ὁ νεανίσκος ποεῖ ; (19) seems necessary to give a contrast to ἢ σὺ τί (20). I delete the question mark in 24. The speaker whom Körte calls Kraton is convinced that the girl is a hetaira and does not see why she is walking about outside instead of making love to Kleinias behind closed doors (22, with aposiopesis as *Eun.* 479, *Heauton.* 913) ; 'that at least (her liaison with Kleinias) is not bogus'. But who are 'Kraton' and Lysias ? The tone of 'Kraton', as interpreted, recalls Onesimos in the *Epitrepontes* (303) and Sosias in the *Perikeiromene* (232) ; in fact the speaker should be a slave, as even the lascivious old man of the *Cistellaria* (305) is not as coarse as this. We cannot say for certain whether the more generous Lysias is young or old, as the name is unattested in Greek comedy. If Lysias is young, he is presumably a friend of Kleinias and the slave is trying to prevent him helping his friend ; if Lysias is old, he may be the father of Kleinias and the slave is loyal to the old and disloyal to the young master. The *Bacchides* provides a parallel for both : Lydus and Pistoclerus (109 f.) or Lydus and Philoxenus (405). This fragment presumably belongs to the scene which gave the play its name and continues with the song of the inspired girl ;[2] it is therefore likely to have been early in the play like the name-scenes of the *Epitrepontes* and *Perikeiromene.* The song may have been in anapaests like the song in the *Leukadia* (fr. 312-4K), which also belonged to the early part of that play.

Two other fragments hint at further developments : the

[1] *Greek Literary Papyri* (Loeb), fr. 55. A parallel for the scansion is fr. 462K, which is quoted by Maas (*Gercke-Norden*, I, 7, 25).

[2] The evidence for the song is quoted by Körte on 30.

pessimistic philosophy of Kraton (223K), whom Plutarch calls 'the old man in comedy', recalls Hegio in the *Adelphi*. Kraton says that the virtuous and noble suffer while the wicked prosper, and Hegio demands that the wealthy should have a correspondingly high standard of behaviour (500 f.). It seems possible therefore, that Kraton is also championing a girl who has been violated. The second fragment (227K) 'you arrived like a *deus ex machina*' must mean that the girl's parentage was finally established by the arrival of a kinsman like Crito in the *Andria* and Demeas in the *Misoumenos*.

KITHARISTES. The nearest parallels for Laches' attitude are probably in the *Eunuch* (971, 1048) and *Bacchides* (416 ff.). According to the normal practice of such scenes Moschion should come out of the house to meet Laches and was therefore not a speaker in the preceding scene. The Laches-Moschion scene has the following references back: (*a*) Moschion has recently arrived from Ephesus (92), (*b*) Moschion has summoned his father (54), (*c*) Laches is not named on arrival and if 75 is to be taken at its face value Moschion has already had a scene with Laches, (*d*) Laches has already made plans for Moschion's marriage (79, 81), (*e*) Phanias and his daughter were in Ephesus with Moschion and must therefore recently have arrived home.

Who then are the speakers in the preceding scene? Wilamowitz[1] must be right in requiring a father's name after *τὴν* (35) and *Φανίου* will not fit. Moreover, surely the scheme of the sentence must be: '[Why are you now] eager, and have [not] come with [. . .] daughter, and think this woman, etc.?' The obvious supplement is *τὴ[ν σὴν οὐκ ἐλ]ήλυθας*; then the speaker (B. in Körte's text) is Phanias, who has just arrived without his daughter and an heiress (?), whom he has married or intended to marry.[2] At the end of the scene he sends baggage (?) into his house, which is next door to the house of Laches (101). The other speaker is presumably a friend of Phanias.[3]

[1] Quoted in Körte's apparatus.

[2] The supplements to l. 41 are not entirely satisfactory; something more general like *πορνίδιον τρισάθλιον* is needed as a contrast.

[3] Several fragments may belong to a further scene between Phanias and his friend, e.g. 281, 282, 286, 287, 288K. Frs. 285 may belong to the Laches-Moschion scene. Frs. 283-4, however, suggest rather a scene in which Moschion and Phanias together persuade Laches to permit the marriage of Moschion to Phanias' daughter.

Before this scene and probably in the preceding act (if the gap of three lines after 27 denotes an act change) are remains of a scene in which a woman takes part (so Körte on the strength of 2). I should like to go further and suggest [1] that the scene is between Moschion and his mother, that Moschion confessed that he had raped the daughter of Phanias, and was then persuaded to send for his father.

KONEIAZOMENAI. The papyrus fragment preserves a very late scene in which the young man incredulously [2] hears from his slave that his marriage is being arranged and that his prospective father-in-law is talking to his friend Chaireas ; he then gives thanks to Fortune for saving him, like Chaerea at the end of the *Eunuch* (1046). The title of the play shows that in an early scene the young woman and perhaps her mother contemplated taking hemlock ; the situation presumably was that the young man had raped the daughter and there was no prospect of marriage.

Sudhaus suggested in his 1914 edition that the *Fabula Incerta* should be identified with this play. This suggestion cannot be proved,[3] but is extremely attractive. The name Chaireas is only known otherwise in the Florentine Comedy, which cannot be the *Koneiazomenai* ; Terence probably invented the name for the *Eunuch* as it seems unlikely that Menander would have called two young men in the same play Chaireas and Chairestratos. In the preserved fragment of the *Fabula Incerta*, Chaireas tricks Laches both into giving him his own daughter and into allowing his son Moschion to marry the daughter of the Areopagite Kleainetos.[4] Körte has shown that Kleainetos' daughter had borne Moschion a son in Laches' absence and that Chaireas (like ' Charinus ' in the *Perinthia*) had vainly sought to marry Laches' daughter. The story fits admirably into the framework of the *Koneiazomenai*. The women who propose to take hemlock are the wife and daughter of Kleainetos. Kleainetos himself is

[1] On the basis of the words preserved, 19-26 : cf. the scenes in the *Hiereia* (summary, 50) and *Aulularia*, 682 f. [2] Cf. *Andria*, 971 for the image.

[3] Kuiper's identification of the *Fabula incerta* with the *Kanephoros* rests on unjustifiable emendation of fr. 254K (*Mnemosyne*, 1931, 239).

[4] For the fury of Laches when he discovers the truth, cf. e.g. Chremes in *Heautontimoroumenos*, 915 f.

first won over, perhaps because Moschion declares his intention of marrying the daughter. Then without Kleainetos' knowledge the intrigue is worked out, presumably by Chaireas, Moschion, and a slave of the calibre of Chrysalus in the *Bacchides*. Moschion is sent out of the way and the intrigue is carried out by Chaireas with the help of the innocent Kleainetos.[1] The slave has kept out of the way while all this happens ; as he returns, he sees and overhears Kleainetos and Chaireas talking it over ; this gives him the news to pass on to Moschion when Moschion arrives (the papyrus fragment of the *Koneiazomenai*).

[1] For the innocence of Kleainetos in this scene and the consequent fears of the slave, cf. *Bacchides*, 845 f., *Heautontimoroumenos*, 829 f.

ABŪ'L-HASAN AL-SŪRĪ'S DISCOURSE ON THE CALENDAR IN THE KITAB AL-TABBĀKH, RYLANDS SAMARITAN CODEX IX.

By P. R. WEIS, M.A., Lic. en Ph. et Hist. Or.
NATHAN LASKI LECTURER IN POST-BIBLICAL JEWISH STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

JUDAISM, basing itself in its religious elements primarily on ritual and practice, allowed a wide range of freedom in the sphere of doctrine and interpretation. Opposing views were maintained on the most essential matters, and even when the one succeeded in being recognised and accepted, the other could still be spread and taught without running the risk of suspicion of heresy. As regards practice, however, Judaism was not so tolerant, and just as the courts could not punish unorthodox beliefs,[1] so they could not leave unpunished transgressions in practice. This was perhaps not so much due to the so-called Rabbinic legalism as to the fact that division between state and church was unknown in Judaism and both types of transgression were judged by one and the same law code.

Thus, from the Jewish point of view, the essential divergencies among the sects within Jewry lay more in the field of ritual and practice than in that of doctrine and dogma. True, differences in practice also existed in Judaism itself. Owing to the wide dispersion, various communities developed their practices along different lines. This, however, affected mainly the form and the details, but the contents and the underlying general principles remained unchanged and uniform.

Ritual and practice found their main expression in the service and observation of the Festivals; hence it was here that the sects differed most. Yet had they all kept the Festivals on the same dates, all these differences in detail would have been outweighed by the great number of agreements. Complete separation was, however, bound to result when the sects introduced innovations in the ecclesiastical calendar and started to profane the days which were declared holy by the general body—and

[1] See Sanh, xi, 2.

this happened usually at the formation itself of the individual sects. Of the Karaites we know this with certainty. Already Anan,[1] the founder of Karaism, opposed the existing system of calculation both as regards the fixing of the New Moon and intercalation. Of the beginnings of Samaritanism we know very little. There is, however, a Talmudic text of not later than the beginning of the third century,[2] which refers to the obstacles placed by the Samaritans in the way of the Jews in connection with the announcement of the New Moons. This implies that the controversy between the Jews and the Samaritans on the question of fixing the New Moon had even at that time been recognised as going back to ancient times.

But besides the significance of the calendar for the history of sects in general, the Samaritan calendar had its own special interest. The Samaritans made a secret of the system of their calendar.[3] They claimed that it was based on the astronomical tables of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, which he made soon after the entry of the children of Israel into the land of Canaan, and these, they claimed, were still in their possession. Western scholars ever since the seventeenth century attempted in various ways to induce the Samaritans to reveal their secrets ; but in vain. It was not till 1939 when Professor Edward Robertson, on the basis of a comparison of a number of Samaritan manuscripts in the Rylands Library, succeeded in showing that from the year 1689 and onwards the Samaritans made use of the tables of Al-Battani. The question, however, remained as to what were the bases of the earlier Samaritan calendar, and this became clarified in the extract which follows.

The extract is taken from Rylands Samaritan Codex IX,[4] which contains the work *Kitāb Al-Ṭabbākh*, " Book of the Cook ",

[1] Cf. *Jewish Encyclopedua*, VII, p. 447*a* ; see also the writer's " Saadya Gaon's Arabic Version of the Pentateuch," in *Saadya Studies*, p. 228, Manchester, 1943, and his " Ibn Ezra and the Karaites," in *Melilah*, I, p. 37, Manchester, 1944.

[2] Rosh Hash., ii, 2.

[3] For a full discussion of the matter, see Edward Robertson, " The Astronomical Tables of the Samaritans (Notes and Extracts, VI)," BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, 23, 1939.

[4] A detailed description of the MS. is given by Edward Robertson, " Catalogue of the Samaritan MSS. in the JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Manchester ", pp. 110 *seq.*, 1938.

or "Book of the Slaughterer", by the renowned Samaritan scholar Abū 'l-Ḥasan of Tyre. The work derives its name probably from the opening chapter which treats of the dietary laws. It covers, however, practically the whole field of Samaritan theology, ritual, creed, homiletics and religious philosophy. It is arranged in discourses which deal with their topics in a systematic way, stating, as a rule, the fundamental principles first and discussing the details subsequently. In the mode of its argumentation it bears great similarity to the dialectics of the Jewish Midrashim. It is the oldest known Samaritan work of its kind and it served as a pattern for many authors in later generations. Its main importance, however, lies in the fact that many traditions and other matters it embodies have parallels in Jewish literature, a fact which points to a common origin and an early date.

Another problem which finds its solution in the extract that follows is the date of Abū-'l-Ḥasan. Religious communities attach, as a rule, greater importance to the views and thoughts of their teachers than to their biographies; hence the many religious personalities of whose lives and times we know so little. Such has been the fate of Abū 'l-Ḥasan. His name is associated with various branches of theology, Bible translation, interpretation, liturgy, homiletics, religious philosophy, etc. His date, however, is a matter of controversy, The Samaritans themselves appear to have conflicting traditions on the matter. A book-list in my possession, written by the brother's son of the Samaritan High-Priest, Jacob b. Uzi Ha-Kohen, dates Abū 'l-Ḥasan's work c. A.D. 800. On the other hand, Gaster [1] quotes a Samaritan tradition that it was written between 1030 and 1040. While Mills [2] places Abū 'l-Ḥasan as late as in the twelfth century. Professor Robertson [3] agrees with Gaster by the following reasoning. Abū Sa'id, whom he identifies with Abū 'l-Barakāt of the beginning of the thirteenth century, speaks of Abū 'l-Ḥasan as if he were a figure of tradition, which shows that he belonged to a generation which had then long passed away. On the other

[1] *The Samaritan Literature* (supplement to *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 3, 1925).

[2] *Nablus and the Modern Samaritans*, p. 318, 1864.

[3] "Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch," in *Saadya Studies*, pp. 169 ff.

hand, the fact that Abū 'l-Ḥasan adapted Saadya Gaon's Arabic translation, which was made in the early years of the tenth century, to the Samaritan Pentateuch would place him about a century after Saadya. This supposition appears still more reasonable when we consider that the Samaritans with their strong conservatism could well have warded off the need for an Arabic translation of their Scriptures a century longer than the Jews. We shall see later that this conclusion finds full justification in Abū 'l-Ḥasan's own words in his discourse on the calendar.

The problem the calendar had to solve was that while the Festivals had an agricultural character, and were thus bound to the seasons which depended on the motion of the sun, their dates were fixed in the Pentateuch on specified days of months regulated by the motion of the moon. A natural solar year of 365 days did not satisfy the requirements since it could not be divided into an equal number of lunations. A lunar year consisting of twelve lunations at an average length of twenty-nine and a half days was also unsuitable since it fell short of the solar year by nearly eleven days and its Festivals would have been in continual retrogression in relation to the seasons. An additional month had, therefore, to be intercalated at certain intervals in order to bring the lunar year in accord with the solar. The main controversy among the sects concerned the question as to how these intervals had to be determined. The Samaritans relied on astronomical calculation, the Karaites on the observation of the actual arrival of the seasons, while the Jews took both factors into consideration. A similar controversy existed between the Samaritans and the Karaites concerning the fixing of the New Moon. The former made use of calculation whereas the latter insisted on observation. Here, however, the Jews agreed with the Samaritans, only that they introduced certain rules for 'postponements' [1] which the Samaritans rejected.

[1] I.e. rules for shifting the dates of certain Festivals. They are of a relatively late origin. According to Maimonides, (*Yad. Kiddush Ha-hodesh*, VII, 7), they have been designed to bring the calendar which is based on the mean motion of the Moon in accord with the true motion. This, however, is in disagreement with b. Rosh Hash., 20*a*, where the reason for the postponements is given that the Day of Atonement and the Sabbath, two days on which even work connected

In contrast to the Jews who deal with the calendar from the aspect of the New Year's Festival, the Samaritans discuss it from the point of view of the Passover as it is this Festival to which they attach the greatest importance. The Scriptural passages bearing on the question of the calendar also are found in connection with the Passover. Abū 'l-Ḥasan divides his discourse into three parts : (1) justifying the Samaritan point of view ; [1] (2) directed against the Karaites ; [2] (3) criticising the Jews.[3]

I

He finds proof for the Samaritan view in the various passages in the Pentateuch which refer to the time on which the Passover has to be celebrated :

(*a*) Ex. xiii, 10, which requires that the Passover shall be kept every year at the same season, can be reconciled with Ex. xii, 18, where the Passover is dated on a fixed day of the lunar month, only by pre-supposing a luni-solar year based on intercalation.

(*b*) That this intercalation has to be determined by calculation and not by actual observation is seen from Dt. xvi, 1, " Observe the month of the young ears (*'ābīb*) ". It is not the young ears which have to be observed but the *month* of the young ears, which implies the necessity for determining the time of the ripening accurately by calculation. Actual observation may sometimes prove also impossible as for instance on Sabbatical years.

The argument as such is found also in Ibn Ezra and has been first advanced by Saasya Gaon against the Karaites who made the Passover depend on the actual observation of the ripening. Yet, whereas Abū 'l-Ḥasan speaks about calculating the time of the ripening, Jewish writers refer to the calculation of the time of the equinox. The explanation seems to be as follows. The rule for intercalation was derived from Dt. xvi, 1, which enjoined that the Passover should be celebrated in the solar month of Abîb. Yet, the word *'ābīb* which designated originally ' young

with the preparation of food may not be done, shall not follow immediately one on the other and also that the Willow Day (i.e. the seventh day of the Feast of Booths) shall not fall on the Sabbath.

[1] Rylands Sam. Cod. XI, pp. 82*a*-91*b*.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 120*b*-123*b*.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 120*a*-120*b*.

ears ' received in course of time the meaning of ' spring '. However, at the time of the Temple, when the offering of the first fruit sheaf was a main rite of the Festival, the decisive factor in determining whether a month had to be inserted or not was that the Passover, which had to be celebrated on the 14th of Nisan, must not come before the ripening of the young ears. Thus *Mekhiltā* [1] and *Sifrē* explain Dt. xvi, 1 : " Observe the ripening (*'ābīb*) that it be in (the time of) the Passover and the Passover that it be in (the time of) the ripening ". With the destruction of the Temple, however, the ripening lost its former significance for the Passover, and gave place gradually to the vernal equinox. This point had the advantage of recurring at a fixed time of the year and was, therefore, more appropriate for the reformed calendar lately introduced in which calculation replaced observation to a great extent. The ' month of Abîb ' came to mean " the month of spring ' and the conclusive criterion for intercalation was that the Passover must not come before the vernal equinox. Thus the passage of *Mekhiltā*, to which we have referred, received in later times [2] the following form : " Observe the *'ābīb* of the equinox (i.e. spring), that it be in the first half of Nisan ", a principle which guided also the Church in fixing the date of Easter. As will be seen later, the Samaritans have also substituted the vernal equinox for the ripening, and although Abū l-Ḥasan tries to justify the Samaritan dating of the Passover by the original meaning of ' the month of Abîb ' he has to admit that this month is determined by the vernal equinox.

(*c*) Abū 'l-Ḥasan proceeds now to prove that the main factor in determining the date of the Passover is not the ripening as such but the position of the sun in that season which can be found best by calculation. (1) The fact that the hot season stands in parallelism with the harvest in Gen. viii, 21-22, shows that the two periods are identical. Now, since the first sheaf of the harvest has to be presented on the Passover, this Festival is perforce dependent on the motion of the sun. (2) Ex. xii, 2, by dating the Passover on the ' first month ', determines also the position of the sun for this Festival. This is seen by the following consideration. The sun reaches its greatest strength on entering

[1] *Ad.* Ex., xii, 2.

[2] See b. Rosh Hash., 21*a*.

Aries. According to Gen. i, 31, all things reached their utmost perfection at their creation.[1] Now, since the 'first month' is necessarily the month on which the sun was created, it implies also that the position of the sun for that month has to be Aries. And here Abū 'l-Ḥasan continues: "And if it is said: You have not placed this (i.e. the beginning of the year) in Adar [2] although the sun descends on it to Aries! The answer: It is not proper that the 'first month' be Adar for its greater part belongs to Pisces. The sun enters Aries on the fourteenth of it according to the (calculation of the) gentiles only, for it is based on the beams (of the sun). According to the astronomical tables of the Hebrews, however, which are the astronomical tables of Phinehas, on whom be the most perfect peace and approval, which he observed upon the Exalted Mountain [3] and which are based on the body of the planets, the sun enters Aries on the 24th day (of Adar)".

Abū 'l-Ḥasan later repeats the statement that the sun enters Aries on the 14th March in the name of the Astronomers. Taking these words as referring to the sun's entering the first point of the constellation that bears the name of Aries, the Samaritan date seems to be correct. At the time of Caesar (45 B.C.) the sun entered the first point of Aries on the 17th of March. By the precession of the equinoxes that point had moved until A.D. 1100: $(45 + 1100) \times 50{\cdot}25'' = 15^\circ\ 58'\ 56'' = 16\text{d}\ 5\text{h}\ 10\text{m}\ 32\text{s}$ which means that about the time of Abū 'l-Ḥasan the sun entered Aries on the 2nd April at 5h 10m 32s. As, however, the Julian calendar reckoned the year too long by 11m 14s we will have to deduct from this date $(45 + 1100) \times (11\text{m}\ 14\text{s}) = 8\text{d}\ 22\text{h}\ 22\text{m}$ 10s and will thus arrive at the date of the sun's entering Aries

[1] Similarly in Huilin 60*a*: "All the works of creation were created in their full-grown stature". That the expression *tōb* in the account of creation conveys the idea of completeness is found also in *Gen. R.*, ch. IV, and occurs frequently in the works of the Jewish religious philosophers, e.g. Maimonides, *Guide*, 10, 3; Albo, 4, 3.

[2] Throughout the book Abū 'l-Ḥasan uses the Syro-Macedonian months which are, unlike those of the Jewish Calendar, Solar and correspond in length to the Julian months in the following order: Teshrin I, October; Teshrin II, November; Kanun I, December; Kanun II, January; Shebat, February; Adar, March; Nisan, April; Iyar, May; Haziran, June; Tammuz, July; Ab, August; Ilul, September.

[3] I.e. Gerizim.

as the 24th of March 6h 48m 22s. However, one cannot see how the short interval between the appearance of the beams and the appearance of the body of the sun can account for a difference of ten days. Moreover, Abū 'l-Ḥasan states later that the sun moves from Aries into Taurus on the 19th of April. This excludes the possibility of the sun's entering the first point of Aries on the 24th of March since it would imply that the sun covered the 30 degrees of Aries in about 26 days whereas the real time was more than 30 days. It seems, therefore, that the first point of Aries is used here in the technical sense meaning the equinox. When the Gregorian Calendar was introduced in 1587 the equinox fell on the 11th of March. From then to the beginning of the 12th century we have 482 Julian years which are too long by (482 × 11m 14s =) 3d 18h 28s. This gives the date of the equinox in the terms of the Julian calendar the 14th of March at 18h 14m 28s. A more exact calculation shows that the 14th of March of the Julian calendar covered any vernal equinox of the years 995-1130. Abū 'l-Ḥasan found a way to reconcile the Samaritan tradition of the equinox falling on the 24th of March with the observations of the astronomers by assuming that while the astronomers end the night with the beams, i.e. with the appearance of the upper rim of the sun above the horizon, the Samaritans end it only after the whole disc of the sun appeared there. The length of this interval was held at those times to be about six minutes.[1] Thus on the 14th of March, on which the equinox fell according to the astronomers—the Samaritan day was still short by about twelve minutes and since at that season of the year the days lengthen at the rate of about 1·2 minutes it needed another ten days to become equal to the night. This explanation, however, was astronomically wrong and could not account for the retrogression of the equinox after the year 1130 or prior to 995 when the interval between the 24th of March and the equinox was longer or shorter than ten days. The real reason for this retrogression was that the Samaritan year had exactly $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. That the solar year had this length was almost universally accepted since the time of Calippus. It formed the basis of the Julian calendar and of the older Jewish

[1] See Maimonides, *Yad. Kĕri'ath Shĕma'*, I, 11.

calendar called the 'Cycle of Samuel'. That the Samaritans believed the equinox to fall on the 24th of March suggests that they relied on the Julian calendar. Caesar, according to general belief, fixed the equinox on the 25th of March. But as he placed the commencement of the day at noon while the Samaritans placed it at sunset the 25th of the former could be the 24th of the latter. Moreover, according to Plinius,[1] Casear fixed the equinox on the 24th of March. This seems indeed to be more probable since the real equinox fell in the year 45 B.C. on the 23d of March 4h 13m. There is also other evidence that the Samaritans depended on the Julian calendar. Abū 'l-Ḥasan gives the position of the sun for the 6th of April, 19 degrees of Aries, while he asserts that the sun moves into Taurus on the 19th of April. The sun moves, thus, in Aries 11 degrees in about twelve days. Consequently, on the 12th day before the 6th of April, which is the 24th of March, the day of the Samaritan equinox, the sun is in the 8th degree of Aries. This again is in agreement with the Julian calendar which fixed the equinox on the 8th degree of Aries.

II

With the knowledge that Abū 'l-Ḥasan existed sometime between the years 995-1130 we may be able to find for him a more precise date in his arguments against the Karaites. The Karaites made the actual observation of the New Moon the fundamental basis of their calendar, and Abū 'l-Ḥasan advanced against them the following arguments :

(*a*) Weather circumstances may sometimes cause the crescent to be invisible which may lead to fixing the New Moons and consequently the Festivals on wrong days.

(*b*) Observation proves impracticable for establishing the New Year Festival, which is on the New Moon of Tishri, since the Festival has to begin with sunset while the crescent is not visible till after nightfall.

(*c*) Relying on the motion of the moon alone causes the Festivals to retrogress in relation to the natural year.

(*d*) Gen. i, 14 requires that both the sun and the moon shall

[1] Quoted by Ginzel, *Handbuch*, II, p. 282.

be taken into consideration when fixing the years and seasons. Abū 'l-Ḥasan concludes this argument by saying: "And great is my astonishment at Jacob that he agreed with Anan in this matter". He mentions, further, that when he wrote his discourse on the *qiblah* Jacob has promised to write a treatise with the object of refuting it but he died before doing so.

As the context suggests, this Jacob was a Karaite who advanced certain arguments in defence of the Karaite calendar. No Karaite scholar of this name is known to have lived in Palestine or in the surrounding countries about the years 995-1130 when, as shown above, Abū 'l-Ḥasan existed. A Karaite by the name of Abū Jacob is cited by Aaron b. Elijah in his book "Gan 'Ēden",[1] in the section dealing with the calendar. He is identified by Jost[2] with Ibn Gahlul of the middle of the tenth century. The fact, however, that Aaron b. Elijah quotes his view after that of Abū Sa'id (1006-7) and before that of Abū 'l-Farag (1050) shows that he lived in the first half of the eleventh century. He appears to be identical with Abū Jacob who is frequently quoted in an anonymous commentary to Exodus-Leviticus, an extract of which is given by Pinsker in his *Liqqutē Qadmoniyōth*.[3] He is identified by Firkovitsch[4] with the aforementioned Ibn Gahlul. But there again he is quoted twice[5] after Abū 'l-Surri who lived at the end of the tenth century, and as the commentary was compiled in 1088[6] Abū Jacob must have lived at about the first half of the eleventh century. Now the view Aaron b. Elijah gives in the name of Abū Jacob fits well our context. It is actually directed against the proof which Abū 'l-Ḥasan derives from Gen. i, 14. Abū Jacob argues that, while it was true that the latter verse implied that the calendar had to be fixed by calculation, the validity of this verse extended only to the time of the Exodus when it was abrogated by Dt. xvi, 1, which based the calendar on actual observation. The difficulty in assuming that Abū 'l-Ḥasan in speaking of Jacob referred to Abū Jacob appears surmountable if we remember that Aaron b. Elijah himself, at the end of the above mentioned chapter,[7] refers to him as Rabbi Jacob. But if

[1] Fol. 15*d*. [2] *Geschichte*, II, 349. [3] Pt. II, pp. 71-76. [4] *Ibid.* p. 76.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 73, 75. [6] *Ibid.* p. 75. [7] *Gan Ēden*, 18*a*.

Abū 'l-Ḥasan was a younger contemporary of this Abū Jacob, the Samaritan tradition that he wrote the Kitāb Al-ṭabbākh between the years 1130-40 was fully justified.

III

As to the Jewish calendar, Abū 'l-Ḥasan confines his criticism to two general points. (*a*) The rules for 'postponements' are incompatible with a system based on astronomical calculation the merits of which are exactitude to the smallest fraction of time. (*b*) The *'Ibbūr*'s lack of authority is attested by Jewish tradition itself which ascribes its origin to Ezra, a person not endowed with prophecy.

'Ibbūr, which meant originally 'intercalation', denoted later the whole system of calculation on which the Jewish calendar was based. There were divergent traditions as to the origin of the *'Ibbūr*. Saadya Gaon maintained that it went back to the time of Adam. But already Ibn Ezra and Maimonides remarked that he might have made this assertion in the heat of controversy with the Karaites, as there were irrefutable proofs from the Talmud that the calendar was originally based on observation. His adversary, Ben Meir, ascribed some rules of the *'Ibbūr* to R. Judah the Patriarch and to his grandfather Rabban Gamliel. The latter seemed in reality to have been the first who, in face of strong opposition,[1] made use of calculation in fixing the calendar. Hai Gaon, II, placed the introduction of the *'Ibbūr* at the time of Hillel, (II) (*c.* 356 A.D.), when the Sanhedrin, the court which alone had the authority to fix the calendar by observation, was dissolved. Popular tradition made Samuel (3d. cent. A.D.) the originator of the *'Ibbūr*. This belief was undoubtedly based on some passages found in the Talmud which ascribe to the latter great familiarity with astronomy. The poet Benjamin b. Zerah (11th cent. A.D.) attributed the *'Ibbūr* to R. Eliezer the great. This was probably due to the fact that the rules of the *'Ibbūr* were embodied in the book *Pirqē de R. Elīezer*, which was held to be a compilation of the latter. The Karaires quoted from a no longer extant work of Hai Gaon, I, that the *'Ibbūr* was instituted by R. Isaac Nappaḥa. The association of the Ibbur

[1] Cp. Rosh. Hash., ii, 8-9.

with this Amora, of whom no saying in connection with the calendar was recorded in the Talmud, rightly puzzled Luzzato and Pinkser.[1] It might, however, be noted that while the above mentioned R. Isaac was surnamed *Nappaḥa*, the extract given by Pinsker, and Hadassi who mentioned this tradition on six occasions, had always *Bar Nappaḥa*.[2] A Rabbi cited by the cognomen *Bar Nappaḥa* was the famous Palestinian authority R. Johanan (3d cent.), the head of the academy of Tiberias. Now, it could not possibly be supposed that a Goan of R. Hai's capacity should have confused these two surnames, especially as they are distinctly separated in the Talmud. Thus, on one occasion of controversy between R. Isaac *Nappaḥa* and R. Johanan *Bar Nappaḥa*, R. Simeon b. Laqish remarked : " Better is what the smith (*nappaḥa*) says, than what the smith's son (*bar nappaḥa*) says.[3] It was more probable to assume that in Hai Gaon's work the name occurred in the usual abbreviated manner ר״י בר נפחה. The Karaites, unaware of the cognomen *Bar Nappaḥa* of R. Johanan, took it for R. Issac. Hai Gaon, however, referred to R. Johanan whose familiarity with astronomy and with matters of the calendar was well attested in the Talmud.[4]

The tradition that the *'Ibbūr* originated with Ezra is not found in jewish literature. Abū 'l-Ḥasan's statement may rest on such Talmudic passages as, " The names of the months were brought from Babylonia ",[5] or " From the days of Ezra and onwards we do not find an Elul of thirty days ".[6] There is also a Baraitha, quoted by Karaite authors [7] but not found in Rabbinic literature, which may also account for this tradition. It refers to the rivalry between R. Simeon b. Gamliel, II, the Patriarch, and Hananiah, the nephew of R. Joshua, in Babylonia. The latter, as is also recorded in the Talmud,[8] had taken the liberty of fixing the Festivals and bissextile years independently of the authorities in Palestine. But, in contrast to the impression we get from the Talmud, that he aimed thereby at securing independence for the Babylonian Schools, the Baraitha asserts that he did this as a protest against the Palestinian authorities

[1] *Liqqūtē Qadmoniyōth*, II, 149.
[2] See *'Eshkōl Ha-Kōfer*, 184, *sn.*
[3] Cp. *b.* Sanhedrin, 96*a*.
[4] Cp. *b.* Shab. 75*a* ; Hul., 95*b*.
[5] *Y.* Rosh Hash., i, 2.
[6] *B.* Rosh Hash., 19*b*.
[7] Hadassi, *'Eshkōl Ha-Kōfer*, 194, *d.*
[8] See b. Ber., 63*a* ; *y.* Ned. VI, 40*a*.

who began to fix the calendar by calculation. When he rebuked them for making this innovation, they answered, according to the Baraitha, "Ezra came from Babylonian and *his* Torah with him". But Hananiah retorted, "Did Ezra bring with him another Torah?" It seems thus, that there had been a time when the Jews ascribed the introduction of the *'Ibbūr* to Ezra.

We may thus derive from the information provided by Abū 'l-Ḥasan the following conclusions: (1) The earlier Samaritan calendar was based on the Julian. They adopted it, we may assume, before the observations of Hipparchus, both as regards the length of the solar year and the precession of the equinoxes, were well-known. At the Council of Nice (A.D. 325) it was already established that the equinox had retrogressed to the 21st of March. The Jews kept to the 'Cycle of Samuel' till about the 7th century when they introduced the 'Cycle of R. Ada' which was based on the observations of Hipparchus. (2) The Samaritan Passover was, like that of the Jews, regulated by the equinox, not, as Abū 'l-Ḥasan wanted us to believe, by the ripening. (3) Abū 'l-Ḥasan existed sometime between the years 995-1130 and wrote his book about the middle of the eleventh century. (4) Contrary to the views held by most Jewish authorities, there seems to have been a tradition, as old perhaps as the first half of the second century A.D., which ascribed the introduction of the *'Ibbūr* to Ezra.

A NOTE ON Σάββατα AND Σάββατον IN THE SYNOPTICS.

By FREDERICK BUSSBY, M.B.E., M.A.,

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD

IT is noticeable in the Synoptics that the readings *σάββατα* and *σάββατον* fluctuate without any apparent reason. It is impossible to limit the significance of the singular form to one day, and the plural form to a number of days. Frequently the plural is used of one day. What is the explanation of this?

The confusion is due to a forgetfulness of the Aramaic origin of the word. In the LXX. the earliest examples of the word are plural, even when reference is made to a single day. Thus in Exodus XVI. 25 we read *ἔστιν γὰρ σάββατα σήμερον τῷ κυρίῳ*. And every example of the word in the Greek version of the Torah is in the plural.[1] Now this version was made in the third century B.C. in Alexandria, and was subject to Aramaic influence. In Exodus XII. 19 the translators, when confronted with the Hebrew גֵּר neither translated nor transliterated it, but turned the Aramaic גִּיּוֹרָא into the Greek *γίωρας*. Burkitt[2] and Nestlé[3] give other examples of Aramaic influence in the LXX. Likewise, in the present instance, the translators did not use a transliteration of the Hebrew שַׁבָּת, but of the Aramaic שַׁבְּתָא.

Striking confirmation of this suggestion comes from the Zenon Papyri. These papyri emanate from the Fayyum, and cover approximately the same period as the Greek version of the Torah. They, too, record the reading *σάββατα*.[4] Nor is this Semitic influence surprising. The Jews were settled in the

[1] Hatch and Redpath, Concordance to the LXX, s.v. *σάββατον*.

[2] Thackeray, Grammar of the O.T. in Greek, p. xx.

[3] Swete, Introduction to the O.T. in Greek, p. 319, n. 3.

[4] Liddell and Scott, Gk.-Eng. Lexicon. New Edn. Stuart Jones and McKenzie, s.v. *σάββατον*.

Fayyum at an early date, and Phœnician traders seem to have reached there not later than 258 B.C.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that σάββατα is the original and correct Greek rendering of the word. But as time went on its origin was forgotten, and attempts were made to Hellenise it. The later books of the LXX., and the later translators like Aquila preserve an unhappy confusion of the two forms. So do the authors of the Synoptics. But Josephus, who avowedly translated an Aramaic work into Greek, obviously aimed at exactitude. When speaking of more than one Sabbath, he uses σάββατα (e.g. Vita 279); but when referring to one Sabbath he employs σάββατον (e.g. Vita 159 and c. Ap. 11.20 and 26). This is the logical conclusion of the Hellenisation of an Aramaic transliteration, a result at which Josephus would naturally aim in seeking to commend his work to the educated world of his day.

It was only after reaching the above conclusion about the third century origin of σάββατα that the present writer came across the following quotation:[3] "Fullerus . . . et alii suspicantur, plurale formatum esse ex eo, quod sono conveniat cum Syr. שבתא quod speciem neutrius pluralis apud Graecos habet." It looks as though Fuller's suspicion was correct.

[1] BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Vol. XVIII, p. 112. A Phœnician name is translated as Ἀβδημούν.

[2] Hatch and Redpath, *op. cit.*, s.v. σάββατον.

[3] Schleusner, Lexicon in LXX, s.v. σάββατον.

THE HERALDRY OF CHESHIRE.

By H. Ellis Tomlinson, M.A., F.S.A., Scot.

THE heraldry of the Earldom of Chester has survived in the arms of corporations within its territory probably more than that of any other feudal honour in England. This is due to the tremendous power and influence of the Earls of Chester, who ruled the Palatinate in almost royal state, leaving little room for the establishment of families of comparable power or for the consequent appearance of the emblems of such families in the arms of boroughs in which they might have held manors. This is not to say that there were not strong and historic families within the Earldom—it is well-known that Cheshire was called "the seed-plot of gentilitie" on account of their numbers—and family emblems are certainly to be found in Cheshire's municipal coats, but as the Earls held most of the manors directly and granted many of them to vassals, it is the heraldry of the Earls that appears most frequently. In fact, the entire corpus of registered arms in Cheshire contains only two civic coats wherein no reference to the Earldom occurs.

Even those who pretend to little or no heraldic skill seem to be able to name immediately the gold wheatsheaf as the distinctive emblem of Cheshire, just as they can name the roses of Lancaster and York. The occurrence of the gold garbs on blue in so many Cheshire coats is ample evidence of their popularity dating from early heraldic times. Hugh of Cyveiliog, or Kevilioc, Earl of Chester, *temp.* Henry II, bore six gold garbs on blue, and Ranulf de Blundevile reduced their number to three; this has remained the characteristic Cheshire pattern ever since. The garbs, however, are not the only emblems associated with the Earldom of Chester, whose heraldry derives from seals and badges as well as from shields.

The first Norman Earl of Chester, Hugh d'Avranches, was commonly called Hugh Lupus, except by the Welsh, whose genius for bestowing nicknames, even in the eleventh century,

was responsible for his uncomplimentary name of Huw Fras—" Fat Hugh "—referring more probably to his grossness than to his strength. His device—hardly to be called a coat-of-arms at that period—was a white wolf's head, whose heraldic descendants have acquired a body to match. This wolf's head may be seen carved upon capitals in the church at Mold, probably in allusion to the office of Seneschal of Chester held by one of the Barons de Montalt. Hugh Lupus held the earldom of Chester " by the right and honour of the sword ", and his formidable weapon is another of the Chester emblems.

The white ostrich feathers, commonly called " the Prince of Wales' feathers ", though strictly those of the Heir Apparent, have been a part of the Earldom's heraldry since the Earldom has been granted to the Prince of Wales. Dr. Taylor, in " Selected Cheshire Seals " (BULLETIN, Vol. 26, No. 2), describes a number of seals of Earls and of the Earldom, in which these feathers appear. In that of Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine, Lancaster and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, afterwards Henry V (Rylands Ch. 1309), the dexter supporter, the famous swan of de Bohun, is given as " supporting a labelled ostrich feather in its mouth ", though the actual feather is missing in this impression. Other seals containing the feather are :

(1) *County Palatine of Chester*, A.D. 1531, in which the feather is seen in the interstices of the diapered ground of the obverse, and on the reverse appears a shield of Chester supported by two dragons sitting back to back and each holding an ostrich feather with a label inscribed Ich Dien. (Rylands Ch. 916).

(2) *County Palatine of Chester and County of Flint*, A.D. 1603. (Mainwaring Ch. 405). The obverse shows an equestrian figure of the King, with a crest of five feathers, three long and two short ; the reverse shows the feathers supported by the seated dragons.

(3) *County Palatine of Chester and County of Flint. Charles, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and York, Earl of Chester (afterwards Charles I)*, A.D. 1616. The obverse shows the same crest of five feathers as the previous seal, with separate feathers in the interstices of the horse's

diapered caparison. The horse, as in the previous seal, also has a plume of feathers. The reverse shows the seated dragons holding the feathers and supporting a shield of three garbs for the Earldom of Chester.

Later seals repeat the seated dragons with feathers and the shield of three garbs. A seal of *Henry de Lacy, Constable of Chester, c.* A.D. 1300 (Rylands Ch. 1266), shows on the reverse a shield of de Lacy's personal arms with a garb on either side; the garb also appears as a diaper ornament on the obverse of (3).

The incidence of these several emblems in the heraldry of Cheshire may now be discussed.

1. *City of Chester.*

The arms of the City are the oldest civic arms in the county. The familiar shield showing the Royal Arms of England dimidiated with the shield of the Earldom is said to have been in use in 1329, and regranted by Richard II, who erected Chester into a Principality. The shield was confirmed and crest and supporters added in 1580.

Arms: England (gules three leopards or) dimidiating Chester (azure three garbs or). The shield is surmounted by a barred helm facing outwards, Scottish fashion—certainly unique in English civic heraldry, as is the mantling, the dexter side being red and white, the sinister blue and white, and the wreath woven in all three colours.

Crest: A sword erect within a sheath tied with a gold fillet.

Supporters: Dexter, a lion or, gorged with a crown argent; sinister, a wolf argent gorged with a crown or.

The garbs of Chester and the sword and wolf of Hugh Lupus are added to the royal leopards in this coat. The lion supporter, is thought by Scott-Giles ("*Civic Heraldry of England and Wales*", 1933), to be the lion of the Ferrers Earls of Derby, as are those of the arms of Lancashire; the dynastic connexions of this family with both counties support the theory, but in the case of the Chester arms, it would appear that the wolf was placed so as to support the Chester half of the shield, the lion to uphold the royal half. This would indicate the lion as a royal emblem, and a further pointer to the royal character of the lion is that the

supporters chosen for the County arms were gold lions, and this may have been a deliberate imitation of the Chester supporter. The County arms were granted after Scott-Giles' description of the Chester coat was published, so that he would not have this consideration to help his surmises on the Chester lion.

It is not certain whether the motto used by Chester was intended as such. The words " Antiqui colant Antiquum Dierum " seem to have been added to Flower's confirmation and grant almost as a pious injunction to the grantees, and indeed in the representation of the arms upon the official notepaper, following the style of the 1580 patent, the motto is not to be found stretched across the compartment between the supporters, but is engraved separately below the whole achievement. But the motto, whatever its origin, is certainly now used as the motto of Chester, and it is therefore shown in the illustration in the usual manner.

2. *Cheshire County Council.*

Prior to the grant of arms of 1938, the arms of the Earldom were used with variations (*vide* Scott-Giles, *sup. cit.*). These were naturally ineligible for granting, and a new achievement was designed and submitted by the late County Architect, Mr. Anstead Brown. This design, with minor amendments, was granted as follows :

Arms : Azure a sword erect between three garbs or.

Crest : Upon a mural crown gules a lion statant gardant or, between two ostrich feathers argent.

Supporters : On either side a lion or supporting between the forelegs an ostrich feather argent.

Motto : Iure et dignitate gladii.

The shield is not a new one, as is usually the case in a new grant. The *Statute Merchant Seal of Chester*, A.D. 1589 (Rylands Ch. 1530) has on the reverse a shield bearing a sword between two garbs. The impression is described as " somewhat rubbed "— is it possible that there was a third garb which has been obliterated ? It seems odd, in any case, that this seal should not bear the arms, with crest and supporters, which were given to Chester only nine years previously. The shield with three garbs and sword appears in two other places ; it has been the Chester hallmark since 1779,

replacing the dimidiated shield (which has always been the official shield of Chester), in use from 1701 to 1779. It appears also upon the Eastgate, which was rebuilt in 1769, and "Hemingway states that on one side there is the arms of the City, and on the other the arms of the Grosvenor family, the expense of rebuilding having been borne by Lord Richard Grosvenor". Mr. G. Burkinshaw, Town Clerk of Chester, to whom I am indebted for this note, has no further information on the use of the shield of three garbs and a sword by the City; but it would appear that at the time of the rebuilding of the Eastgate, this shield was associated with the City, since it is displayed upon the Eastgate. It is only ten years later that the same shield came into use as the Chester hallmark, and from other evidence it seems to have been in use before the grant of 1580 as well. Mr. Geoffrey C. Scrimgeour, Clerk of the County Council, quotes another correspondent: "I have a print of a Plan of the City of Chester said to be of the year 1560, and although no colours are indicated, the shield of the City depicted in the right hand corner consists of an upright sword between three wheat sheaves." Thus there seems to have been a concurrent use of both coats by the City of Chester both before and after the confirmation of 1580, though no documentary evidence is available in either the City or the County records of an authorization of the use of the shield bearing the sword and three garbs. However, it has now earned official recognition, in the arms of the County, and no more suitable shield could be devised.

The mural crown with its battlements is a familiar symbol in civic heraldry. It is usually of gold, but its red tincture in the County grant is a felicitous allusion to the red sandstone walls of Chester. Upon it stands the leopard, or lion statant gardant, from the Royal Crest—an appropriate reminder of the Palatinate status of the County and of its brief career as a Principality, as well as of the merging of the Earldom into the title of the Prince of Wales. The familiar ostrich feathers complete the design in conjunction with the lion crest and supporters. The motto recalls the terms of Hugh Lupus' tenure of the Earldom, and the whole achievement is one of the finest, most dignified and significant in British corporate heraldry.

3. *Borough of Dukinfield.*

Arms : Quarterly azure and argent, a cross pointed and voided quarterly argent and sable, in the first quarter a raven and in the fourth a garb, or.

Crest : Out of a crown palisado or, a cubit arm vested azure. the cuff argent, the hand proper grasping a shield azure charged with the sun or, all between two ostrich feathers argent.

Motto : Integrity.

These were granted in 1900, and the shield is the first civic shield in the county granted after that of Chester to bear a Cheshire emblem. The familiar garb, and the ostrich feathers in the crest, combine with the Dukinfield family's pointed cross and their crest of a hand holding the sun, to make a pleasing and significant design. The raven, locally called a docken (according to Fox-Davies and Scott-Giles), provides a traditional heraldic pun. The crown is an alternative to the mural or embattled crown granted to corporations, and represents the pales of a stockade. Scott-Giles draws the crown correctly, but calls it a crown vallary, which is of slightly different pattern, the upright parts forming a continuous pattern and not attached severally to the rim.

4. *County Borough of Wallasey.*

Arms : Or, on waves of the sea a three-masted ship in full sail proper, on a chief azure three garbs or, two and one, in the dexter, and a horn in the sinister, proper, stringed and garnished or.

Crest : A dolphin facing outwards, proper, entwined about a trident erect or.

Motto : Audemus dum cavemus.

These were granted in 1910. The maritime associations of the town are combined with something of its history. The garbs and the horn refer to the Mastership of the Forest of Wirral, which descended from Alan Sylvester to Alexander Storeton, after its bestowal upon the former by Earl Randle Meschines. Possibly the dolphin was deliberately chosen to represent New Brighton, two dolphins being the principal charges in the arms of Brighton.

5. *Borough of Sale.*

Arms : Azure on a pile argent between two garbs or, three lozenges sable.

Crest : Upon the battlements of a tower argent a moorcock proper.

Supporters : On the dexter a unicorn argent, armed and hooved or, maned and tufted azure, on the sinister a badger, each gorged with a collar of sallow twigs proper.

Motto : Salus et felicitas.

The arms and crest were granted to the Sale U.D.C. in 1920. The Chester garbs accompany three black lozenges from the arms of Massey of Sale. These arms form an interesting series with the arms of Hyde and Shaw, or Ashawe. Each family bears a chevron between three lozenges, with varying tinctures. There would appear to be heraldic kinship between them, and perhaps a link with the de Stockports. The crest refers to the district of Sale Moor.

The supporters, designed by Major T. G. Woolley and the author, were granted in 1945 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the incorporation of the borough. The unicorn was suggested by the unicorn's head crest of the Carringtons, much as the wolf's head of Hugh Lupus gave the complete wolf. This supporter represents the Ashton-on-Mersey district of Sale, and the badger, or brock, gives a punning allusion to Brooklands. Each beast wears a distinctive collar of sallow twigs in reference to the origin of the name of the borough, which also finds an echo in the motto.

6. *County Borough of Stockport.*

Arms : Azure crusilly and three lozenges or, within a bordure or charged with three garbs and three double-headed eagles alternately azure.

Crest : Out of a mural crown or, a mount vert thereon a castle of two towers proper.

Motto : Animo et Fide.

These arms were granted in 1932, replacing a shield of the de Stockport arms (that is, blue strewn with crosslets and charged with three lozenges of gold), which was "supported" by two

figures which appeared to be trying to hide behind it. To the Stockport family coat was added a gold border bearing the three garbs of the Earl of Chester, with colours reversd. In the Town Hall is stained glass showing Robert de Stockport presenting to the burgesses a charter making the town a free borough, and an equestrian figure of Randle, third Earl of Chester, who granted the charter in the thirteenth century. The eagles are from the arms of the local family d'Eton. The castle commemorated in the crest has disappeared, its site being now partly occupied by the market-place.

7. *Borough of Bebington.*

Arms : Per chevron azure and or, in chief a saltire couped argent between two garbs or, and in an base ancient ship sail furled sable, flags flying gules.

Crest : In front of a rising sun or, a representation of Bromborough Cross proper.

Motto : Civitatis fortuna cives.

The borough was incorporated in 1937, but the arms had previously been granted to the Urban District Council in 1934.

The garbs, like those in the arms of Wallasey, refer to the granting of the Forest of Wirral by Randle Meschines. The ship refers to Bromborough Port, the Cross to Bromborough itself, the sun to Port Sunlight, and the saltire to the parish of St. Andrew in Bebington.

8. *Borough of Altrincham.*

Arms : Azure two garbs and a cogwheel or.

Crest : A leopard or, supporting with the dexter paw a staff gules, the truck or, flying therefrom a banner azure charged with a cornucopia or, the fruit proper.

Supporters : On the dexter side a unicorn ermine, maned, armed and unguled or, gorged with a collar pendant therefrom by a chain gules an escutcheon of the arms of Grey : Barry of six argent and azure ; on the sinister a lion or, similarly gorged and with an escutcheon of Massey of Dunham Massey : Quarterly gules and or, in the quarter a lion passant argent.

Motto : Altrincham en avant.

These were granted to the new borough in 1937. The Cheshire garbs are accompanied by a cogwheel alluding to the engineering industry. The royal leopard in the crest is said to be especially significant as the arms were granted in Coronation year, but it seems more likely to be a survival of the device previously used by the Altrincham U.D.C., which was the shield of Massey (*vide* the sinister supporter), but with a royal leopard in place of the white lion passant. The cornucopia on the banner refers to the market gardening of the district and to the motto of the former U.D.C.: Pax et abundantia. The supporters recall the two great local families of Grey, Earl of Stamford and Warrington, and Massey of Dunham Massey.

9. *Bowdon U.D.C.*

Arms: Per chevron arched or and vert, two yew trees proper and a garb or, on a chief gules a lion passant argent.

Crest: A demi-unicorn ermine, armed, crined and unguled or, holding a bow strung proper, and gorged with a collar vert.

Motto: Beau don.

These arms, designed by the author, were granted in 1945 to commemorate the jubilee of the U.D.C. in 1944. The arched chevronwise division represents the " rounded hill " which gives Bowdon its name. The yews recall that many of the bows of the famous mediaeval Cheshire bowmen came from the trees of this district, a magnificent specimen of which is in the churchyard. The yews also refer to the wooded parts of Bowdon, especially Dunham. The garb of Cheshire also indicates the Agricultural Show which is a feature of the life of the area. The Earl of Stamford's unicorn, and the white lion of the Masseys, which have already been noticed in the arms of Altrincham, complete the design, with the addition of a punning charge, a bow—which happily recalls the yews in the arms—and a punning motto, " Beau don "—" Splendid gift." The motto is not only a pun on the name, but also refers to the gift of the arms to the U.D.C. by its Chairman, to the gift of the Denzell House as a cultural centre, and to the opening of Dunham Park to the public by the Earl of Stamford.

One other civic coat in Cheshire remains to be mentioned, though its shield bears no emblems from the Earldom, The crest of the *Borough of Stalybridge* is a wolf statant argent in front of a garb or, and was granted in 1857. The shield contains emblems from the arms of the Staveley and Dukinfield families (*vide* Scott-Giles, *sup. cit.*).

Of the municipal coats of Cheshire, only two bear no charges at all in reference to the Earldom, namely those of *Birkenhead* and *Hyde*. The former borrows from the Massey arms, the latter from the Hyde coat, both with many additions and a not very happy result. They are discussed in Scott-Giles and Fox-Davies.

The use of the emblems of the Earldom is not confined to Cheshire. It is not fair to quote the ostrich feather in the arms of various Welsh and English authorities as an emblem of the Earldom, because it is borne in those cases as an emblem of the Prince of Wales or Heir Apparent, the Earldom of Chester being merely incidental as far as concerns the history of those places. Two of these coats of arms, however, belong to places formerly within the Earldom, and bear its emblems in allusion to that stage of their history. They are the *City of Salford* and the *County of Flint*.

City of Salford.

Arms : Azure semé of bees volant or, a shuttle fesswise between three garbs or, on a chief or a bale of cotton corded proper between two mill-rinds sable.

Crest : A demi-lion argent supporting a banner azure charged with a shuttle, or.

Supporters : On the dexter side a wolf or gorged with a chain pendant therefrom an escutcheon gules charged with a mill-rind or ; on the sinister side an heraldic antelope argent maned, armed and unguled or, with a like chain and escutcheon charged with a rose argent.

Motto : Integrity and Industry.

The garbs and wolf—gold this time—refer to the Earldom in which the Hundred of Salford was formerly situated. The ante-

lope, like that of the arms of Manchester, refers to the Duchy of Lancaster. The industries of the City are well represented. The inclusion of the rose of York seems curious, especially in conjunction with the Lancastrian antelope. Possibly it refers to the regular visits of Yorkshire merchants to buy Salford's goods in the early days of its industrial development. As these arms were granted in 1844, this peaceful invasion from the other side of the Pennines would probably remain fresh in mind at the time of the grant.

Flintshire County Council.

Arms : Argent on a cross engrailed fleury sable between four choughs, a mascle between four roundels argent.

Crest : A demi-dragon gules holding an ostrich feather erect argent.

Motto : Gorau tarian cyfiawnder.

These were granted in 1938, replacing an earlier design of about 1922 in which the undifferenced arms of Edwyn of Tegeingl, one of the mediaeval Tribal Princes, were placed between the seated dragons holding the ostrich feather from the seal of the Earldom of Chester. By statute of 34 Henry VIII it was ordained that the " original seale of Chester shall be and stand for the original seale of Flint and shall be in the custody of the Chamberlain of Chester ", and this continued so long as the Palatinate Court existed. The Earldom of Flint was held by the Earl of Chester, and the Prince of Wales was summoned to Parliament as Earl of Chester and Flint until the eighteenth century. The various seals of the County Palatine of Chester and County of Flint have already been noticed, and the seated dragons with feathers found their way into the device of the County Council in 1922. When the present arms were granted in 1938, the dragon and feather survived in the crest, and the arms of Edwyn of Tegeingl were differenced by the addition of the white mascle or hollow lozenge, and the four roundels on the cross. These charges probably refer to the silk and metal-working industries of the county. The motto means " Justice is the best shield ".

One other registered coat in Cheshire contains a Palatinate emblem, though it is not a civic coat. The arms of *Queen's School, Chester*, date from 27th February, 1936.

Arms : Or a rose gules, on a chief azure a mitre and a garb or.

Crest : An eagle or, wings expanded azure, holding a banner or charged with a rose gules.

Motto : Honour wisdom.

The Cheshire emblems occur also in various unauthorised devices in the county. The *Borough of Macclesfield* uses a pretty device, which does not claim to be a coat of arms, not being placed on a shield. It is a rampant leopard grasping a large garb. This would make a very good crest in a grant of arms. Of the other municipal boroughs of Cheshire, *Congleton* and *Crewe*, little need be said, as they are treated in Scott-Giles and do not contain any Cheshire emblems. It is a pity that the one should have stolen the shield of the Vintners' Company of London for the sake of a play upon the unimportant final element of the town's name, while the other persists in using one of the most egregious devices in British heraldry, which moved Fox-Davies to very outspoken criticism.

The Cheshire garb is found in several devices assumed by Urban Districts in the County, *e.g. Northwich, Winsford, Hazel Grove and Bramhall* and *Hale*. Northwich also uses supporters (which is a breach of privilege in an Urban District), which appear to be the Chester lion and wolf with fish-tails in allusion to the Weaver Navigation. It is to be hoped that some, if not all, of these authorities in Cheshire which have not yet registered arms will soon take steps to obtain genuine arms in keeping with the traditions of the County.

The occurrence of the emblems of the Earldom of Chester in the foregoing coats of arms may be conveniently summarised in a table ; only registered and therefore genuine arms are entered. It will be seen that of the thirteen coats, twelve include one or more of the garbs ; three have the wolf ; two have the sword ; three include the feather, and one the dragon. The garb occurs in one other crest, that of *Warrington*, side by side with the rose of Lancaster to indicate the town's position on the borders of the

two counties ; but it is not included in this series as it does not refer to a connexion with the Earldom. The garb occurs similarly with the roses of Lancaster and York, in the unauthorised shield used by *Mossley*, to indicate a topographical situation.

	Garb.	Wolf.	Sword.	Dragon.	Feather.	Local Family.	Industry.
Chester . .	√	√	√	—	—	—	—
Cheshire . .	√	—	√	—	√	—	—
Dukinfield .	√	—	—	—	√	√	—
Wallasey . .	√	—	—	—	—	—	√
Sale . .	√	—	—	—	—	√	—
Stockport . .	√	—	—	—	—	√	—
Bebington .	√	—	—	—	—	—	√
Altrincham .	√	—	—	—	—	√	√
Bowdon . .	√	—	—	—	—	√	—
Stalybridge .	√	√	—	—	—	√	—
Salford . .	√	√	—	—	—	—	√
Flintshire . .	—	—	—	√	√	√	√
Queen's School .	√	—	—	—	—	—	—

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Coward, T. A., *Picturesque Cheshire*, 1926.
Bowdon : Jubilee Souvenir, 1944.
Jubilee of County Councils (Cheshire, Flintshire edns.), 1939.
Altrincham, Bebington and Sale Charter Souvenirs.

Note.—Since the publication of " The Heraldry of Manchester " in the BULLETIN, 1944, a further grant of arms has borrowed from the City coat. The dexter supporter of the arms granted to *Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd.* in 1944, and designed by Maj. T. G. Woolley, is the Manchester heraldic antelope wearing a gold collar with a gold shield charged with a rose of Lancaster. This is of course, very similar to the actual Manchester supporter, and refers to the location of the Company's chief works in the Manchester area. The proposed formation of a Manchester County Council should provide yet another interesting heraldic derivative from the City arms.

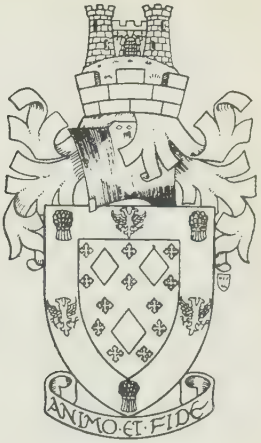
CHESTER

CHESHIRE

DUKINFIELD

WALLASEY

SALE



STOCKPORT

BEBINGTON

ALTRINCHAM

SALFORD

STALYBRIDGE (CREST)

FLINTSHIRE (CREST)

BOWDON

QUEEN'S SCHOOL, CHESTER

THE WORK AND AIMS OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF ARCHIVES

A MEETING of considerable importance was held in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, on Wednesday, the 22nd of May, 1946, the object of which was to set up a local committee in furtherance of the work of the National Register of Archives.

In the unavoidable absence of Sir John S. B. Stopford, F.R.S., the Chairman of the Rylands Council of Governors, the guests were offered a welcome by the Librarian, who expressed their appreciation of the visit of Sir Cyril Flower, C.B., the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, and Lt.-Colonel G. E. G. Malet, O.B.E., the Registrar of the National Register of Archives, who had made a special journey from London to tell them something about the scheme that the Master of the Rolls (Lord Greene) is setting up for the development of the National Register of Archives.

The meeting was presided over by Sir Cyril Flower, who was supported by Dr. E. F. Jacob who, before returning to Oxford, for sixteen years had occupied the Chair of Mediæval History in the University of Manchester, and was a member of the Rylands Council. Dr. Jacob expressed his pleasure at the opportunity of hearing from the Registrar of the National Register something about this venture which had arisen out of the anxiety of the Master of the Rolls for the safety of the great collection of English Archives, which in some cases had been in danger, and even still are in danger, of dispersal. There was a feeling of anxiety at the back of Lord Greene's mind when he set up the committee to consider what steps should be taken to protect British Archives, and his hope is that we shall be able, this afternoon, to start in Lancashire and Cheshire a scheme which will assist him in the task which he has undertaken.

The Chairman, Sir Cyril Flower, expressed the regret of the Master of the Rolls that official duties prevented him from

being present, for from the very beginning Lord Greene had taken a great personal interest in the scheme.

"And so," continued Sir Cyril, "we have come to Manchester, at a very early stage in this crusade for bettering the conditions of local archives throughout the country. There is much to be done, for our wealth of archives is very great, but there is continual seepage, and from time to time, particularly in the recent war, more serious damage. Some counties have already taken steps to put their archives in order, notably Bedford, Lincoln, Somerset, Essex and Warwick.

"Manchester is a particularly good place from which to launch any movement which calls for manpower, machinery and materials. I hope those present in this room will supply the manpower. As to machinery there is this Institution; there is the Chetham Society which, for a hundred years, has been issuing printed material about Lancashire history; there is the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, whose work on records has been of direct help to the historian and the archivist. In some counties very little help is available, but in Lancashire one turns at once for help to the publications of that Record Society, and seldom in vain. Besides these there is the Manchester University. The work begun by Ward has been carried on by Tout and Tait, and by Jacob, who, each in turn, has handed on the torch of history from one generation to another.

"There are two other societies which have been very helpful: one is the Society of Antiquaries of Lancashire and Cheshire, and the other the Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society. I apologise to any society I have not mentioned; there are certainly others who can be, and wish to be, helpful.

"As to the material: Manchester has a respectable mediæval history, Liverpool was a port from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and perhaps earlier, and Chester speaks for itself. Manchester, you will agree, was not a great city of the Middle Ages like York or Bristol, or even Norwich. But archives do not depend on dates. Local records are not necessarily ancient parchments; a document of 1946 may be just as much an archive as a document of 1346.

"You may read a letter at the breakfast table and say to yourself

' I will keep this '. You are creating an archive. And if you are engaged in the production or sale of an invention such as penicillin, your letter books and accounts will be of prime value to the historian who wants to find out, in another hundred years' time, what happened at the beginning.

" Here in Manchester one has only to mention cotton. After cotton there is the historic struggle to establish the Manchester Ship Canal; that would be a very proper source of archive research. I am tempted to explore a backwater. A very good archive volume could be produced with a title such as ' Pastimes of the Mancunian '. It would include the romantic history of the Hallé Orchestra, the story of your famous tennis court, and the saga of ' My Hornby and my Barlow of long ago ', and of Johnny Briggs and A. G. Steel. There might be something about the Waterloo Cup.

" The last suggests the Grand National and that brings us to Liverpool, whose modern progress is as important as anything in its past—a period during which two cathedrals have been built, a magnificent hospital system set up, and a lighted roadway made under the Mersey. Surely the archives of that period are of inestimable importance.

" The roadway under the Mersey leads to Cheshire, a county which has been described as ' the seed plot of the nobility,' and is well worthy of intense cultivation.

" Before I end I would like to say a few words about the Register and the Registrar.

" We have a limited sum of money to spend in a very limited number of years. Our purpose is to find out as much as we can about local records up and down the country, and to codify the information and incorporate it in a register. Such a register cannot possibly succeed without local help. We have tried finding out things from books, but there are always ragged ends, and if the Register were made from printed sources only it would be very imperfect. It is to ask for your aid in bringing local knowledge to bear that we have come this afternoon.

" The Registrar himself, with whom I have had the pleasure of working for the last year, has his eye on the end and also the means. He is a methodical enthusiast, who follows a star

without getting his feet wet. He has brought with him to-day an arsenal of pamphlets, forms, and tabulated matter. This is not the thin end of the bureaucratic wedge. For a national effort it is essential that what is done should be canalised as far as possible. Just as local antiquaries and historians began this movement—though the British Records Association really set the thing going—so we look to local enthusiasm to bring it to a profitable end."

The Chairman then called upon Lt.-Colonel Malet to deliver his lecture on :

"THE AIMS AND METHODS OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF ARCHIVES."

" I would start," said the Lecturer, " by defining the aims of the Register negatively, because there are certain criticisms on which I would ask you to suspend judgement until the whole scheme has been explained. The Register is not an official attempt to pry into private affairs ; still less is it an attempt by the State to confiscate private archives, even if lack of storage space did not forbid such a policy ; neither is it an invitation to individuals to take advantage of the generosity of owners for purposes of private research. Reasonable research, it is hoped, may come later, but it is not the first stage. Lastly, I would deny that it is a scheme of but little importance, staged at an inopportune moment when everyone is overstrained.

" I would amplify this last point. Archives are a matter of some national importance. A wide definition, but the only adequate one, describes them as " all those writings in whatever form—papers, parchments, cards, books, rolls, plans—which accumulate naturally during the conduct of affairs of any kind and are kept for reference ". Hence, their first quality lies in the practical purpose for which they were made, a use which can never for certain be said to have ended. In this century certain charters of King John decided a dispute over fishing rights. Another quality, quite unique, is their truthfulness. Written by busy people for practical ends, they avoid the bias

of the chronicler. Again, they are irreplaceable. Each group is related to others throughout the country, each paper to the rest in its own group. The destruction of an apparently uninteresting minute may result in the loss of a clue to an important organism. Hence destruction and re-arrangement should never be undertaken except under the guidance of an expert. Given such a definition and qualities, the importance of archives is obvious. Every human activity must, in some degree, depend on them.

"Even so, why start such a plan at so difficult a time? The scientific study and care of archives *per se* has been of slow growth, while all the time there has been a steady and increasing rate of loss. Anglo-Saxon love of case-law combined with Norman efficiency has resulted in this country having a greater accumulation of Archives than any other. In the mediæval period they were kept for purely practical ends. Glanville and Bracton used the legal rolls as a mine for precedents: for similar reasons masses of deeds and court-rolls were stored in every manor. Sir John Seymour, in the sixteenth century, saved an account roll from destruction solely because it erroneously called his mansion, Wolfhall, a manor. That it contained fascinating details of the burial of Henry Esturmy in the fourteenth century, the sums given to the poor, the price of mourning clothes, the details of the food for the funeral feast, the payments for masses, all these were of no importance to him. Sir Julius Caesar, who at the end of the sixteenth century was the first to print any of the Public Records *in extenso*, is careful to state that he did so only to further his claims, as Master of the Court of Requests, against a rival Court. In the sixteenth century Archbishop Parker founded his Society of Antiquaries and historians began to use records as sources for their works. It was a great advance, as it led to the eighteenth century school of County historians, and eventually to the forming of the County Learned Societies. Unfortunately, however, these historians were only too inclined to glean their information, and then leave the archives again to the mercy of rats and damp.

"Scientific interest can be said to start with the Royal Commissions of 1801 and later, so many of whose recommendations

have, alas, never been implemented. Yet about 1850 Lord Macaulay could still write complacently: 'of the great body of the people, of those who held the ploughs, who tended the oxen, who laboured at the looms of Norwich and squared the Portland stone for St. Paul's, not much could be written . . . the most numerous class is precisely the class respecting which we have the most meagre information'. That we find his statement nonsense shows the change in the modern outlook, the first result of which was the foundation of the Public Record Office, whose able staff has given so much help in their own time to private owners. The year 1869 saw the setting up of the Historical Manuscripts Commission to deal with the Archives of private Owners and Local Government Bodies. It has catalogued some 400 of the greater and best known accumulations, a great task which has been furthered by some of the County Learned Societies.

"Meanwhile the rate of destruction has become alarming. The introduction of the 'fifty year title', and the toy-drum and lamp-shade trades have increased it. At one period neglect was the best friend of Archives for, in spite of rats and damp, large numbers survived in forgotten attics. Changing social and economic conditions have altered this. Old houses are sold, old firms amalgamated and their records sent to the dustbin or broken up for sale. War-time enquiries by the Historical Manuscripts Commission revealed that, while destruction by enemy action was negligible, that from carelessness was alarming. A comparison of the surviving records of certain West Country estates with the same as they were noted by Sir William Pole in the seventeenth century strikingly illustrates the gravity of the position. Hence the note of urgency in this appeal.

"The realisation of this danger led to the formation in 1932 of an unofficial body, the British Records Association. In 1943 it appealed to the Master of the Rolls, who appointed a committee to investigate. The first result of the Committee's labours was the setting up in 1945 of the National Register of Archives. This last is controlled by a small Directorate, largely unofficial in membership, under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Flower. In order to secure a grant from the Treasury and to make use of

experience already gained, the Register was formed as a branch of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The grant is only for two and a half years, and allows for a Registrar, and Assistant Registrar (Dr. Edwards), and a clerk. The typewriting is generously done in the Secretariat of the Public Record Office. This small staff aims at writing one million cards, a task which includes classifying all English archives except those of the State. The cards, arranged geographically under ancient parishes or boroughs, according to the physical location of each accumulation of records, are divided into white 'Master cards', giving the bare outline of each Owner's records, pink 'detail cards', and yellow ones for cross-references. The Archives are classified into 'categories' such as Public Local, Semi-Public, Private, Ecclesiastical, Anglican, etc., and Artificial Collections. These are subdivided into 'Types of Groups' such as the Lord Lieutenancies', the Sheriffs', the Coroners', Quarter Sessions', County Councils', Boroughs', Districts', Statutory Authorities', and so on; and again into 'Subject Divisions' and 'Classes', such as, in the latter case, 'Registers', 'Minute-Books', 'Correspondence', 'Court Rolls', 'Deeds'. Coded perforations allow for rapid sorting. Thus, at a later stage, it should be possible to pick out a remarkable combination of information, such as all the Benedictine Cartularies in private hands in any given county. The files are arranged under the names of Owners, thus any accumulation can be traced either through its location or its Owner. The cards are written in the central office from report forms designed to be worked in three stages. The 'first stage form' only states the existence of an accumulation, its ownership and address and its bare outlines: the second stage gives accurate details by classes; while the third, a very long term policy, is a simple list of documents, which has the great advantage of enabling an Owner to check any losses. It is proposed that several copies of each report should be typed, one for the Register, another for each County concerned, and a third for the Owner, who will often thus know for the first time what he possesses.

"Obviously the small central staff cannot secure this information unaided, and hence the need for a large body of local

volunteers of many types. Helpers need have no special knowledge or training for the first stage reports ; all they require for this is tact, commonsense, perseverance, and knowledge of their locality, which will enable them to locate unknown Owners. There are many of these last, and they are important, even though their Archives be few in number. I know of a retired naval officer living in a very modern house who possesses the eighteenth century diaries of his ancestors who were Calcutta merchants. He alone knew this. In the later stages, such helpers could also deal with most documents written after the mid seventeenth century, leaving to the fewer experts, used as shock troops, the reporting of mediæval and Latin records. Perseverance is necessary because many Owners diffidently assume that their papers are of little interest while others, who have parted with the bulk of their archives, often forget that they usually still possess a quite important residue. It is hoped that many Owners will care to report their possessions. In this way it is hoped that the two aims of the scheme will be completed, registration, as the first step towards preservation and, later, as a guide to scholars.

"Such a body of helpers obviously requires direction and guidance by a local organisation. The Directorate has no wish to impress a stereotyped pattern on the country. The organisation may take the form of an already existing body or an *ad hoc* committee, provided it is sufficiently representative to ensure the co-operation of the very varied interests involved and has an active secretary. It might well consider the formation of sub-committees, where the area is too large for centralization. Its main functions would be to act as a link between the helpers and the Register, to approach Owners and to guide the helpers. It might well decide to deal with types of groups in sequence, say the Boroughs first, then Landowners, certain types of businesses, Anglican Parishes, and so on. To avoid overlapping, while ensuring that all the area is covered, each helper should work in a small but definite area, unless he is an expert. Such a body would also be responsible for ensuring the reasonable accuracy of the reports, and that they are in such a form as to be easily reduced on to cards. It is hoped that some helpers

may be able to type sufficient copies of their own reports, and that volunteers for this task may be available at the area office.

" Finally, the organisation should decide on the most suitable home for the County copies of the reports, and be prepared to give advice to owners wishing to place their records in custody. The Treasury grant allows for a very small sum for the expenses of the County office, about ten pounds a year. This might be doubled for the present year, as all Counties will not have started work. At least one supporter has offered a donation, a suggestion which might well be thoroughly explored. The central office of the Register can also help by supplying stationery.

" I realise that this is asking a very great deal, and I have not tried to hide the many difficulties. I have aimed at proving the importance and urgency of the scheme. But those willing to help will undertake a task of great interest ; already a number of rare and interesting documents have come to light. For the Counties there will be an adequate reward. They will know, for the first time, not only the richness of their own histories, but also which of their own records have been scattered throughout the rest of England. The interest aroused should lead to increased support of the Learned Societies ; scholars will possess that for which they have always prayed, and never had, a comprehensive guide to the sources of their studies.

" I appeal, therefore, to that noble tradition of Lancashire and Cheshire, exemplified by the great names of the past, Roger Dodsworth, progenitor of the *Monasticon*, four generations of the Holmes' family, Ormerod and Baines with their histories of Lancashire and Cheshire, James Crossley, founder of the Chetham Society, Christopher Townley, Dr. Whitaker, William Farrer, James Tait, J. P. Earwaker, R. Stewart-Brown, and in our time Dr. Jacob. In that tradition of service to scholarship I would appeal to all here to make the Register, small and puny as it is to-day, something worthy of this country."

The Chairman then threw the meeting open for questions.

The first question was whether existing printed catalogues would be used—to which the reply was : " Yes, but such catalogues are often incomplete, and in most cases are issued by

libraries whose documents are in safe hands. It was a matter of much greater urgency to obtain information about neglected and hitherto unknown collections."

Professor Namier stressed the importance of private collections of letters, which were often unknown even to their Owners. For fifty years those of the famous Lord Bute had been mislaid until they were discovered in a solicitor's office in Edinburgh. Could the Master of the Rolls persuade solicitors to look through their deed-boxes? Another task would be the discovering of voters lists.

Colonel Malet replied that success depended on the thoroughness of the helpers. Correspondence was specially stressed in the list of Types of Private Archives drawn up by the Registrar. Many poll books existed among the Quarter Sessions Records, and many solicitors were sympathetic to the scheme.

It was pointed out that any powers to compel disclosure, except for manorial documents, would require Parliamentary sanction.

To the question whether the Council for the Preservation of Business Archives still existed it was explained that it had been rather dormant during the war, but was now becoming more active.

Two motions were then submitted to the meeting, and were carried without opposition :

1. "That this meeting approves and will support the formation of a National Register of Archives."
2. "That this meeting appoints Dr. Jacob, Dr. Tupling, Dr. F. Taylor, Major Scrimgeour of Cheshire, and Dr. Guppy, with Miss H. Lofthouse, M.A., Librarian of Humphrey Chetham's Library, Manchester, as Honorary Secretary and Convenor, to set up a representative committee for Lancashire and Cheshire to further the aims of the National Register of Archives, with power to co-opt and form local and other sub-committees."

THE "BIBLIOTHECA LINDESIANA"

IT is with feelings of profound regret, coupled with sympathy for the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, that we learn of the impending breach of a tradition that has lived in his family for more than four centuries.

This tragedy has been brought about by the crushing burden of to-day's heavy taxation, which has been responsible for the dispersal of yet another of the few remaining great private libraries, which hitherto have been reckoned among the glories of Great Britain.

There have been times in the past, to quote Lord Crawford's own words, when the tradition became a trickle. but it has never ceased to flow through all these years, and to-day, did not circumstances decree otherwise, it would be in full flood.

The earliest book known to have belonged to one of the Lindsay family is a copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, written in 1323 for Christine de Lindsaye, Dame de Coucy. Many volumes were purchased throughout the sixteenth century, but it is not until the latter half of the seventeenth century that a collection was systematically formed by John Lindesay, Lord Menmuir, son of David, Earl of Crawford.

In spite of a crowded public life as Secretary of State, Lord Menmuir was able to lay the foundation of a great library. The brightest jewel of his library, a series of State Papers, including letters which passed between Mary, Queen of Scots, and the French Court, subsequently known as the *Balcarres Papers*, was handed over to the Advocates' Library in 1712 by his great-grandson, Colin, who, fearing their destruction during the troubled times which he anticipated, thereby ensured their safety even if his family should perish in the Highlands.

Haigh Hall, the big plain house on the wooded hill which commands the town of Wigan, in Lancashire, from which the famous library is in process of removal, was rebuilt about 1830 by the twenty-fourth Earl of Crawford, and it was partly to

furnish its walls that his son, in whom revived the old Lindsay passion for book-collecting, began as a boy at Eton to gather volumes which gradually filled four great rooms and all the wide passages of the house.

It was an old passion, for as long since as the days of James VI of Scotland, John Lindesay, Lord Menmuir, filled with books and historical papers the old mansion-house of Balcarres, which he had purchased and brought into his family. He and his grandson Alexander, first Earl of Balcarres, the friend of William Drummond of Hawthornden, and of William Cowley, there built up the first Lindsay library, the " Great Bibliotheck " of Balcarres.

It was largely dispersed later on when the head of the family was abroad as a soldier and there was no one at Balcarres to care for the books or to have any conception of the value and interest of the treasures that had been stored up for two centuries. This period of neglect was followed by one of destruction, for in his absence abroad much of the library was literally torn up, thrown away, used as wrapping paper by the local tradesmen for bacon and butter, and by the maids for lighting the fires. In the last decades, however, of the eighteenth century, the whole collection was transplanted to Haigh and the old library struck new root in the foreign land of Lancashire, where it was joined with the useful library of 5000 books bought by Alexander on the death of his father-in-law, Lord Muncaster.

But these unhappy years had their compensations. The eldest daughter of the house, Lady Anne Lindsay, married the son of Dr. Barnard, Bishop of Limerick, a friend of all the great men of the day. Through him the library possesses many papers of interest, including Dr. Johnson's Latin Epitaph on Goldsmith, and the famous " Round Robin ", " circumscribed " by Burke, Sheridan, Gibbon, Sir Joshua Reynolds and others, begging the doctor to re-write the epitaph in English.

Lady Anne will always be remembered for her ballad of the Balcarres shepherd, " Auld Robin Grey ", but of greater importance are her nine volumes of memoirs, which remain unpublished.

Once more the period of desolation was swiftly followed by

one of reconstruction, and the library was soon to be restored to a degree undreamed of by its founders.

Lady Anne's nephew, the great-grandfather of the present Earl, was filled from his earliest years with a desire to rebuild the family library. Soon after he went to Eton he had covered one wall of his room with books—chiefly incunabula and early editions of the classics—that he bought on a schoolboy's allowance. In his earliest youth he proposed to himself, as an object, the development of the library into one worthy of his family, not a mere bibliomanical congerie of undigested accumulation but a library of intrinsic excellence to contain the most useful and interesting books, old and new, in all walks of literature, although including the chief bibliographical treasures, which lend grace and value to such collections. But it was not until 1834 that a legacy enabled him for the first time to buy on a considerable scale.

At this time he felt himself to be under the influence of Bibliomania, and from a sense of self-distrust confined himself rigidly to the acquisition of the most useful and substantial backbones of a library, only purchasing such of the rarer books as were absolutely essential to its completeness. He bought many books, for instance, at the Heber Sale, which began at this time, but other rare books he let go in the expectation of having later opportunities of acquiring them. Many of them never again came to the surface, many others in later days had to be bought at considerably enhanced prices. Thirty years later he regretted this line of action, and was sailing on a tack directly contrary to that which he then pursued. He was buying rarities indispensable to his scheme, neglecting books which might be obtained at any time, leaving their acquisition to his old age—or his successor.

He began by compiling from special bibliographies and works of criticism, the ideal catalogue of a library such as might serve not only himself, but a whole family of varying tastes and pursuits. This was revised from time to time, but the balance between department and department was always preserved. No book was admitted merely because it was rare; utility and interest liberally construed were the test for admission.

The great-grandfather of the present Earl had always before him the ideal of a general or catholic collection. He did not wish to buy everything, but the best in each department, and thus to form a broad and sufficient basis on which any one of his successors might build towers or wings according to his particular pursuit or taste.

As the years went by he realized that no time was to be lost if he were to accomplish the object he had in view. Rare and valuable books were fast disappearing from the market. How prophetic were his words when he wrote " Ours will probably be one of the last great libraries formed in Europe, of the class of which the Harleian, the La Vallière, the Heber, the Spencer, and the Grenville are the most noble examples ".

The great public libraries were in a great measure indifferent, with the result that numbers of rare books not to be found in the public libraries appeared in the open market and were absorbed by the great private collections, such as the Pinelli, the Roxburghe, the Sykes, and the Heber collections, then again to be dispersed and in time to be absorbed by the great permanent collections of Grenville or Lord Spencer.

By the middle of the century the public libraries both at home and abroad were endeavouring to fill their lacunae—with the result that many rare books were obviously lost to the private collector for ever, and many private libraries passed into national possession, as in the case of the early printed books of the Bibliotheca Spenceriana, and of the manuscripts of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, which have furnished Manchester with the proud position of eminence among the universities and libraries of the world.

The keystones of any great library should include a Bible Collection, consisting of original texts and translations, a comprehensive collection of Greek and Latin Classics, and one of " Incunabula ". In respect of these departments, thanks to the discrimination exercised by the Crawfords and the Spencers, Manchester is to-day in proud possession of rich collections, which include many examples and editions of outstanding importance.

In books of travel, in other words of the drama of geographical discovery, the library is rich, but the outstanding collection is

the series of voyages and travels in the Eastern and Western World, commonly known as the "Grands et Petits Voyages", published by the family of the De Brys at Frankfort between 1590 and 1634. The collection comprises not only the entire series complete in their first editions, but also the second and third editions with their endless variations of texts and illustrations. It formed a bibliographical puzzle of the utmost complexity, and the result of thirty years' work may be seen in the resulting singularly complete series, of which a detailed collation of the entire work was made by Lord Crawford's grandfather, by means of which the student may ascertain the constitution, page by page, of each separate part and edition, together with any known variations. The three volumes, of which the original set was composed, have grown to no fewer than 193 volumes, which are now in the custody of the Rylands Library.

Apart from theology and religious controversy many interesting publications deal with language and grammar. Comparative grammar, always one of Lord Crawford's great-grandfather's special studies, was of course well represented in his library. Every advance in language reveals the growth and greater intellectual attainment of the race that speaks it; and from the bibliographical point of view, works on grammar and dictionaries are of supreme interest.

The language and literature of the East were also a particular study of Lord Lindsay, and this section of the library became the most important collection in private hands, occupying over a thousand feet of shelving. Printed, or even lithographed books, were excessively scarce. The great works of Oriental thought had to be sought for in manuscript, and such manuscripts seldom appeared in the European market. Lord Lindsay commenced these collections during his travels in Egypt and Syria in 1836. He made long lists of desiderata and contemplated sending agents out to the East, especially commissioned to search for what he desired to obtain; but this course was not adopted with regard to the Persian and Arabic tongues, though it was carried out to a considerable extent in the case of Chinese works. It meant long and patient waiting; and it was ultimately found more satisfactory to buy *en bloc* existing libraries, thereby

concentrating into the moment of such sale and purchase a lifetime of watchful success and experienced accumulation.

With these Oriental and Western books, bought for their intrinsic beauty, Lord Lindsay, the twenty-fourth Earl of "Christian Art" celebrity and his son, found the nucleus on which to build this collection of some six thousand manuscripts, which to-day, with Lord Spencer's collection of some forty thousand printed volumes, form the chief glories of the John Rylands Library. Lord Lindsay set out to illustrate the history of writing and illumination, and possessed examples of all dates from the papyri of Early Egypt to modern times in almost every known written language.

Lord Crawford possesses in a letter of some two hundred closely written foolscap pages, written by his grandfather in 1864, describing "the present state and future prospects of the Crawford or Balcarres Library" the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana". The scheme is probably the most comprehensive that any private book collector has ever formed in modern times, and it has been carried out through two generations in the most logical way. The library was to be thoroughly representative of all the literatures of the world. It was to contain, not everything, but the best of everything—"the best that has been known and thought in the world". All the literatures of Europe were to be represented by the best poets and prose writers in the best editions, both those issued in the lifetime of the authors and those of modern and critical ages. The literature of the countries which have been slow in adopting printing were to be represented by the finest obtainable manuscripts. The history of each country was to be treated in the same way. We have already expressed the hope on another occasion that Lord Crawford will see his way to give us the privilege of quietly perusing this letter in print.

This library has from time to time suffered. Two great sales, at Sothebys, took place in the eighteen eighties; many thousands of books were sold in 1920; and now another blow is imminent, for great houses cannot survive to-day's burden of taxation, and yet another of the few remaining great private libraries is doomed.

"There are, however", writes Lord Crawford, "certain special collections which I am not likely ever to have space to house myself, but of which I should deeply regret the dispersal over the world. They are collections which, if scattered, could never again be brought together, for the material no longer exists. Some of these collections are the finest of their kind, whilst all are of considerable importance. Their value lies in their existence as a collection and it would be a tragedy for scholarship were they broken up."

Lord Crawford would have desired to give these collections to a library where they would be kept intact for all time, and where they could be freely used: but financial considerations prevent his losing complete control of them in this manner. Alternatively, they could be sold *en bloc* to an American library, for any one of them would bring distinction in its particular line to almost any library—serious research on any of the subjects contained in these collections would make it necessary that they should be consulted. Such a course may be inevitable, but it is one which would naturally be regretted by the scholars in this country.

A third alternative, however, has suggested itself to Lord Crawford's mind, namely, that some public libraries in this country might care to accept on semi-permanent loan these or some of these collections. This would have the advantage of retaining unbroken some sections of the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana", of preserving for scholars in this country an asset unobtainable elsewhere, and of adding something of value to the particular public, or semi-public, library concerned.

This suggestion of a semi-permanent loan would not differ materially from an outright gift.

Lord Crawford brought these matters to the attention of Dr. Guppy, and after careful consideration of this generous proposal it became quite clear that some of these collections would add materially to the utility of the Rylands Library.

There will always, however, remain a valuable printed historical record of this great library, in the form of an alphabetical analytical catalogue, in four folio volumes, consisting of 5000 pages arranged in double columns, in which such

collections as Pertz, Muratori, the Bollandists, and publications of learned societies have been carefully analysed and arranged in one alphabetical sequence, by a staff of cataloguers working under the direction of Lord Crawford's grandfather, his father, and Mr. J. P. Edmond.

This is quite distinct from the catalogues of Royal Proclamations, Miscellaneous Broadsides and Ballads, and from the series of " Notes and Collations " published over a number of years by Lord Crawford, and dealing with intricate bibliographical problems of certain books and series of which the object was to form perfect or standard copies of such sets as Fowler's prints of stained glass and mosaics, Sanderus's *Brabant*, de Bastard, and others.

The first of the collections which have been deposited in the Rylands Library consists of :

REFORMATION AND LUTHER TRACTS

In this collection there are some 1350 volumes written by, for, or against Luther, presenting a complete and many-sided picture of the Reformation, of which many of the wood-cut title-pages were designed by such artists as Holbein and Cranach.

By means of these tracts of humble proportions and consequent cheapness which were easily hawked about, the public were kept in daily contact with every stage of the development of the movement.

The first of Luther's works in history and importance is the famous Disputation of 1537, the original edition in book form of the Theses against the system of indulgences, the first blast of the trumpet heralding the Reformation.

No four pages of print ever changed the course of history as did these. It was the broadside edition of the Theses which Luther himself used to post upon the gates of the churches and the University of Wittemberg.

No change was made in the rites and ceremonies of the Church until 1523, when Luther published the " Order for the Worship of God " which lays down certain principles for the conduct of Divine Worship.

It is doubtful whether there are collections of these contemporary pamphlets of this importance in Germany.

A separate catalogue has been printed and accompanies the collection.

Other collections are:

ENGLISH TRACTS

A very large collection consisting of 11,700 volumes in folio and quarto dating from 1587 to 1912. The Civil War period is exceptionally fine. The only other collection at all comparable is the "Thomasson Tracts" in the British Museum.

FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY AND ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY TRACTS

A very large collection, which is probably the finest outside France. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Bibliothèque Nationale has anything of comparable importance.

The pamphlets number 15,200, Periodicals 211, Manuscript documents and transcripts 270, making a collective total of 15,681 items.

This collection supplements the extremely important gift made to the library by the father of the present Earl of Crawford, as a mark of his appreciation of the services the library was rendering to scholarship, on the occasion of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its inauguration on the 6th of October, 1924, when the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Manchester entertained the Trustees, Governors and Officials of the Library and their principal guests, to the number of 400, to a civic luncheon in the Town Hall.

Lord Crawford's gift consisted of a collection of upwards of 20,000 proclamations, placards and other broadsides and bulletins, issued in France and other European countries.

It comprises 10,000 proclamations and placards relating to the French Revolution, to the Napoleonic Régime, to the Restoration, and the Commune of 1871, ranging from 1789 to 1871; 200 proclamations relating to the earlier period of French history covering the years 1532 to 1780; a set of the "Bulletin de la Convention Nationale", 1792 to 1795; 2000 proclamations relating to the Netherlands from 1584 to 1848; 1000 relating to Tuscany from 1548 to 1793; 107 relating to the Venetian Republic from 1668 to 1797; 200 relating to the Neapolitan Revolution of 1848-49; and 50 relating to Spain from 1716 to 1843.

It is difficult to estimate the importance of this collection, but it is certain that many of the items which it contains are not to be found elsewhere.

THE BORGHESE COLLECTION OF PAPAL BULLS, BRIEFS, PROCLAMATIONS, BROADSIDES, ETC.

In this collection we hear from Rome the thunder of anathema and excommunication against the reformers.

It is an unique collection of the greatest importance, numbering some 8000 items, collected by the Borghese family, and contain an amazing store of information not only on public affairs, but also about the social life of Rome, particularly between 1550 and 1700. Indeed, it is doubtful whether a more complete insight into the social life of any town can be obtained elsewhere.

The subject of seventeenth-century Papal Government is more or less virgin soil, which is full of surprises and in this collection is material for a great book.

These documents were all printed in the Vatican. They include some unique items, and are accompanied by the beginnings of a catalogue in manuscript of the Papal Bulls, by Robert Steele.

DE BRY: GRANDS ET PETITS VOYAGES

Reference has already been made to this collection, which forms one of the most intricate bibliographical puzzles of the whole library.

The collection comprises not only the entire series of first editions in different languages, but also the second and third, and their endless variations of text and illustrations.

The three volumes of the original set have grown to no fewer than 193 folio volumes.

THE BALCARRES AND CRAWFORD PAPERS, ETC.

This collection includes the muniments, charters, deeds, and other papers relating to the Crawford Family and their Estates, which range from the 13th to the 20th century, and comprise some 10,000 items.

It also includes a considerable collection of Library correspondence and accounts, as well as colliery accounts.